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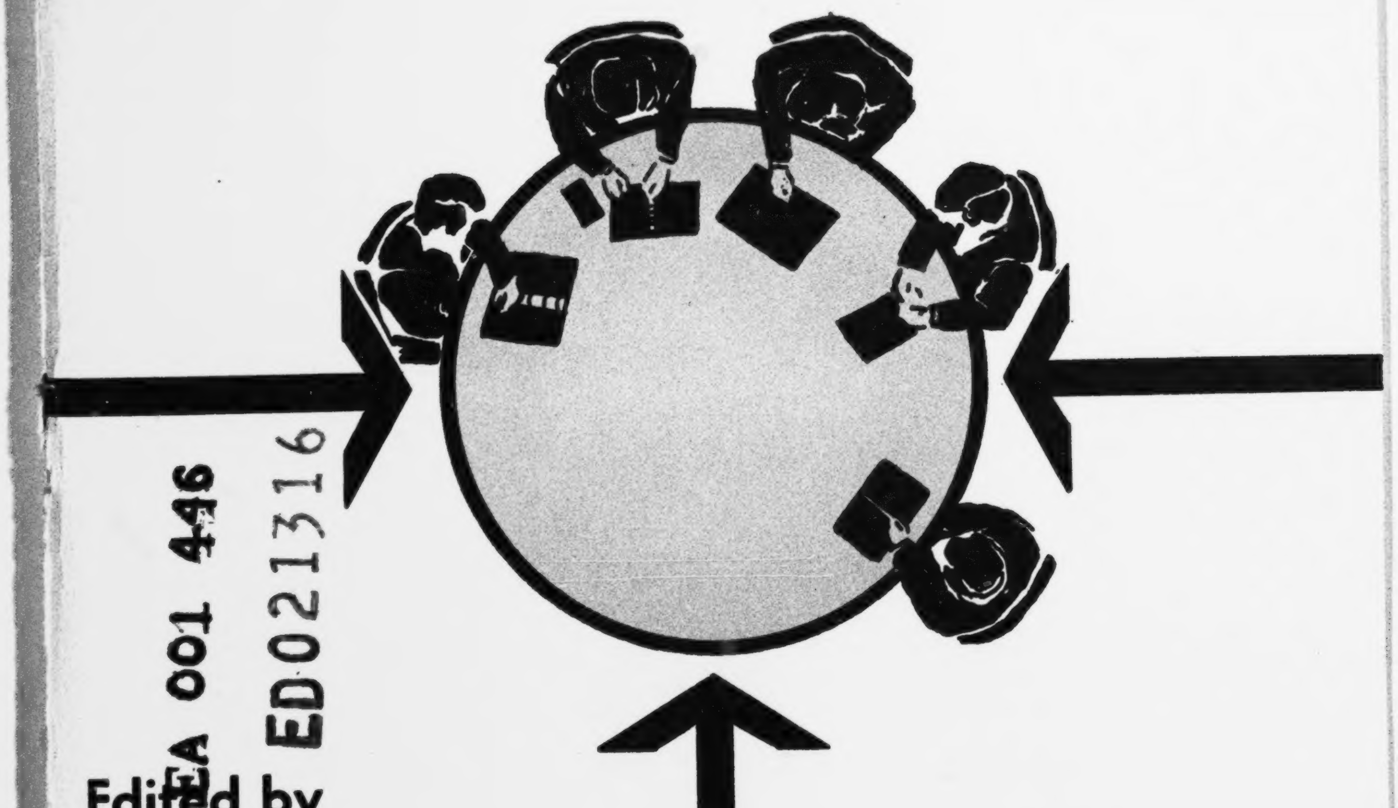
This document reproduces a series of presentations made at clinics for school board presidents and school superintendents at the University of Wisconsin and Wisconsin State University. Although school board members are usually drawn from the more able segments of society, they approach increasingly difficult problems (new educational demands, growing activity of pressure groups, increasing teacher militancy, civil rights and racial disputes, collective bargaining, problems of financial support, and the procurement and allocation of federal funds) with little or no formal preparation for such responsibilities. For this reason the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision of the University of Wisconsin organized the clinics to help school boards analyze and solve problems. Use of the "clinical technique" is demonstrated in mutual exploration and analysis of (1) professional negotiations and collective bargaining, (2) school board policies, (3) school policy development, (4) intergovernmental relations, (5) problems of school district operation, (6) changes in school government, (7) schools as a focus of social change, and (8) relations between school and society. (TT)

SCHOOL BOARDS
AND
SCHOOL BOARD PROBLEMS

A Clinical Approach



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SCHOOL BOARDS AND SCHOOL BOARD PROBLEMS

A Clinical Approach

edited by

Roger C. Seager and Richard L. Philipson

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Foreword

SCHOOL BOARDS face increasingly difficult problems. New educational demands, the growing activity of pressure groups, increasing teacher militancy, civil rights and racial disputes, collective bargaining, problems of adequate financial support, and the procurement and allocation of federal funds require thoughtful consideration and specialized knowledge. Although board members usually are drawn from the more able segments of society, they often approach these problems with little or no formal preparation for such important responsibilities.

The Department of Educational Administration and Supervision of The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee has felt for some time that more can and should be done to assist these strategic community leaders in analyzing and solving the problems they face as school board members. Consequently, in the fall of 1966, a proposal was submitted under Title I, Higher Education Act of 1965, which suggested specific assistance in the form of a series of clinics for the presidents of selected school boards and their superintendents of schools.

A planning committee composed of representatives from key Wisconsin educational organizations met several times to establish the format and identify the problem areas. The committee selected four problems of current interest to school board members in Wisconsin and organized a clinic to focus upon each. To reach more board presidents, the committee scheduled each clinic twice; once at The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee for metropolitan area school officials, and again at Wisconsin State University—Stevens Point for board presidents and superintendents in central Wisconsin. Thus the clinic series consisted of eight meetings focusing upon four problem areas with participants attending either the Milwaukee or the Stevens Point series of clinics.

Several people contributed immeasurably to the success of these clinics. Serving on the Planning Committee were: George Tipler, Senn Brown, and Ben Guthrie, all representing the Wisconsin Association of School Boards; J. K. Hoyer and V. E. Klontz, representing the Wisconsin Association of School District Administrators; Archie Buchmiller, State Department of Public Instruction; Professors Orland Radke and Burdette Eagen, Wisconsin State University—Stevens Point; and Professor Willard Brandt, The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee.

In addition, several members of the Department of Educational Administration and Supervision at UWM participated in important ways. Professors Harold J. McNally, Arthur A. Rezny, and John Fleming offered valuable suggestions and assistance in both planning and implementation. Professor Willard Brandt served as co-director of the project and assumed major responsibilities from conception to fruition of the clinic series.

The Department of Educational Administration and Supervision sincerely appreciates also the interest and assistance of the many board presidents and school superintendents who so actively participated in the clinic series. Our department is pleased to have been a part of this undertaking.

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FROM original conception of examining school boards and school board problems in the manner of the medical clinician through successful implementation, we are indebted to the planning committee for their labors and guidance. The planning committee consisted of the following members:

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Bloomberg, Warner, Jr., "The School as Factory" (from a manuscript prepared by Dr. Bloomberg for use by the National Defense Education Act Institute, Racine, Wisconsin, 1966-67, sponsored by the School of Education, The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee and by the Unified School District, Number 1 of Racine, Wisconsin).
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Peterson, Peter G., "The Class of 1984 . . . Where Is It Going?" (a speech made before the Committee for the Support of Public Schools, 1966).
Tuttle, Edward Mowbray, *School Board Leadership in America* (Chicago: Interstate Printers and Publishers, 1963).

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Finally, we thank Miss Grace E. Hunn and Miss Christine M. Schieffer for their yeoman efforts in transcribing and typing the addresses of the "clinicians" and the questions and remarks of the clinic participants.

R. C. Seager
R. L. Philipson

Editors' Introduction

THIS BOOK attempts to accomplish several purposes. First of all, it reports the presentations made at a series of clinics for school board presidents and superintendents held at The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee and at Wisconsin State University—Stevens Point. The book serves also as a vehicle for the participants to share with colleagues on their own, and on other boards of education, the ideas discussed at these clinics.

There is an additional purpose, however, which transcends the transmission of substantive information. We have attempted to illustrate the use of the clinical technique in the mutual exploration and analysis of educational problems. The typical educational conference approach has often been to focus discussions either upon the specifics of a single situation (affectionately referred to as the "practical" approach), or sweep to the opposite pole and attempt to abstract and delineate the interrelated variables common to several problems of similar genus (reverently referred to as the "theoretical" approach).

The former approach (the "practical") often moves quickly to a particularistic ("this is the way we do it in Pleasantville") discussion which makes no attempt to unearth cause-effect relationships, discover situational variables, or examine alternative solutions. The latter approach, the "theoretical," too often becomes a sophistic debate among professors over the intricacies of theories which somehow have implications and applications to the supposed agenda items.

The clinical approach attempts a middle ground. It confronts actual problems with rigorous analysis, or vice-versa, if you prefer. We apply the clinical technique as used in the medical profession to the analysis of educational problems. Just as the physician's bedside diagnosis of disease is undergirded by theories of blood chemistry or body metabolism, so must the school administrator's analysis of educational malfunctions evolve from theories rooted in the social and behavioral sciences.

The clinical dialogues reported here, therefore, begin with the description or "layout" of an actual problem. Each section of the book is devoted to a separate problem with the opening chapter in each section undertaking a detailed description of the problem, its symptoms, and its manifestations. The chapters by Mr. Prasch, Mr. Zeiler, Mr. Holthusen, and Mr. Watson respectively, are devoted to problem "layout."

Having described the problem, we then turn to an analysis of it. This analysis may proceed by the delineation of a particular viewpoint based upon a unique association with the problem, such as Mr. Anderson's chapter on the issues in professional negotiation as seen by the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board, or by Mr. Buchmiller's chapter on the states' relationship to other governmental units.

Ultimately, the clinical approach moves to an analytical, diagnostic, and even a prognostic theme with strong theoretical underpinnings. The chapters written by Mr. Doherty, Mr. Lipham, Mr. Campbell, and Mr. Johnson undertake this task.

There is another step in the clinical process. Continuing our medical analogy, a clinic provides for the instruction of students by examining or treating patients in the presence of the students. Consequently, the clinical treatment of educational problems provides opportunities for questions and for dialogue among the participants.

As in most dialogues between equals there is little attempt by the participants to assume the formal posture of the lecturer-expert. Throughout the chapters the authors make frequent reference to one another's presentations and enlarge upon themes developed by preceding speakers.

The editors have attempted to retain this informal give-and-take atmosphere of the participants in these clinics. Consequently, the style is conversational rather than "bookish."

This sense of interdisciplinary, non-formalistic treatment of school board problems as projected by the speakers was caught by the school board members and school superintendents in attendance. This was evidenced by spirited participation in post-presentation, general question periods, and later in small-group discussion sessions. Due to space limitations, the editors have been forced to select only certain portions of these post-presentation questions to be included at the conclusion of some chapters.

The four problems selected do not begin to exhaust the myriad of issues presently facing educators. They are, however, representative and relevant, and should be of considerable interest to board presidents and school superintendents. We hope that the deliberations of the clinic participants which we have reported will stimulate additional thought and discussion about these issues.

R. C. Seager
R. L. Philipson

CLINIC I

PROFESSIONAL NEGOTIATIONS

Professional Negotiations vs. Collective Bargaining

JOHN C. PRASCH

Mr. Prasch is Executive Director of the Upper Midwest Regional Educational Laboratory, St. Paul, Minnesota. He has been a principal and a superintendent of schools in both Wisconsin and California. He brings several years of direct experience to this chapter on the problems and issues of professional negotiations.

MY TASK is to lay out the problem that we are to examine. I assume that my fundamental role is to either identify the issues or to pose the important questions for your deliberation. Although I see my role as one of questioning, under no circumstances would I make any pretense of great knowledge or objectivity.

The very act of sorting out the issues proceeds from a certain orientation. I warn you that I speak from whatever biases get built into a practicing school superintendent whose knowledge of this subject is limited to direct experience and personal observation. Since some of my selections will expose my biases, I will, where appropriate, share personal opinions with you for whatever they may be worth in determining the issues.

Although the Wisconsin Statute 111.70 is now in its fifth year, the problem of "Professional Negotiation" or "Collective Bargaining" (whichever you choose to call it) is still, apparently, a red-hot issue. This is evidenced by the fact that about two hundred people were expected to attend a recent conference in Madison on this subject, and about six hundred showed up. It is a warm issue in the educational community, not in this state only, but nationwide. At the outset, I suppose I should say that I see no difference between professional negotiations and collective bargaining. This is one point on which Arvid Anderson and I agree. It may be the only point on which we agree, but we undoubtedly will find a few other areas of common ground.

SOURCES OF FERMENT

This continued nationwide ferment about negotiations probably stems from a number of sources.

First. It is related to the important power struggle between the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association.

Each organization is now obligated to demonstrate that it can do the most for the profession. Apparently each chooses to demonstrate its superiority, at this point in time, by being more militant than the other group or more anti-administration, or anti-board of education.

Second. We surely are caught in a situation where we have a general man-power shortage for education on the one hand and exhausted sources of revenue on the other hand.

This is particularly true in Wisconsin where we are so hopelessly married to the property tax as our source of income. These two facts create tremendous pressures in problems of salaries.

Third. In Wisconsin, the necessity to adapt our negotiations to the same format used in labor-management bargaining creates a whole set of problems of its own.

This third problem has two distinct dimensions. I will attempt to list the issues, therefore, in two categories or at two levels.

At one level (given the existing statute) boards of education, superintendents of schools, and teacher organizations are faced with practical questions which simply have to do with living with the law. At a second level, there is another set of questions of different and perhaps more philosophical nature which are related to whether the profession should simply live with the present arrangements or whether we should attempt to assert leadership to improve them. As we discuss this matter it will be apparent that the two levels of the issues are intimately related.

LIVING WITH THE LAW

Starting with the issues at the first level, let us look at the Wisconsin statute and its practical consequences. Basically, it gives every teacher the right either to belong or not to belong to a labor organization. There is no dispute with this basic right, but the application of the statute raises a set of practical problems for school districts. The application requires that the majority be named as the exclusive negotiating unit. There are six obvious types of problems thus created.

1. There is the necessity to select and name a negotiating unit.

   This process establishes a conflict situation among colleagues. Certainly we have been aware of these kinds of conflicts in a number of our communities. Depending upon the community this can be a very red-hot, debilitating kind of contest for the district and there have been some instances where it has been exactly that.

2. Once the election is held and the negotiating unit is selected, negotiating rights of the minority groups are removed, and boards of education deal only with the majority group to discuss salaries and working conditions.

   We do have among our ranks in education certain kinds of minority groups (coaches, for example) who may have previously bargained separately.

3. The third problem is related to the second one, but it is a rather serious one. The supervisory staff is eliminated from the bargaining unit.

   Many principals and other administrators have by definition of the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board been pretty well drummed out of their professional organizations, at least for purposes of staff negotiations.

4. The law establishes the necessity to name the bargaining unit, the conditions, and the prohibited practices.

   This creates the necessity of knowing what the prohibited practices are, and knowing in advance of a particular proceeding is not always easy. We have a number of litigations about prohibited practices which illustrate the conflict and confusion present.

5. The statute has labeled professional organizations as labor unions.

   Depending upon your orientation, this is or is not seen as a problem. However, in the eyes of the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board any of these organizations are labor units.

6. Once the unit is established, the process often cannot be completed because recurring elections or decisions may be required.

   In cases where the original election is close, in due time another request will be made for an election, and the same kind of debilitating process that has separated one colleague from another will recommence. This process can be repeated almost indefinitely. The situation is such that if one group does not accomplish certain kinds of objectives, the out-group is strengthened, thus enhancing the opportunities for continuing elections. Finally, there are opportunities for time-consuming, expensive, legal action and counteraction during the course of this process.

INHERENT PROBLEMS IN NEGOTIATIONS—"BARGAINING"

Having established a negotiating unit, the next requirement is that there be bargaining "in good faith." Apparently there is some technical question of whether or not a school board can be forced to bargain, but if we are going to set up units, the intent is that we do bargain and indeed, this is what should happen. The necessity to bargain "in good faith" brings about another set of practical kinds of problems. Here are only six such problems:

First. The establishment of negotiation procedures is required.

You do have to agree upon what procedures you will use, the timing, and several other procedural ground rules.

Second. It changes traditional roles.

There has been very much concern by public school administrators, because the role that administrators have seen themselves playing is not the role that WERB sees them playing. As a matter of fact, the message is rather straightforward: it is impossible in the eyes of the law for the superintendent of schools to play the kind of middle role that he has hoped to play. The administrator's role, as defined by publications devoted to the field of educational administration, is made extremely difficult.

I doubt that the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board sees administrators playing this role. Mr. Anderson has said that if the superintendent plays the middle role he'll get run over. "If he stands in the middle of the road, he'll be run over," is the terminology. This also changes the traditional roles of board members and other supervisory people.

Third. The negotiating or bargaining process probably requires counsel on both sides.

Since neither side has really learned to play the bargaining game, the more each side attempts this new role, the more the necessity for counsel to do this kind of bargaining is recognized.

Fourth. Undoubtedly, there will be many more formalized procedures.

It appears that the formal procedures are likely to be much more time-consuming than they have been in the past. The kinds of informal arrangements that may have been satisfactory in the past will regress, and negotiations will move in the direction of more formal ways of operating.

Fifth. If we are going to bargain, a definition of what is subject to negotiation is required.

This is an area with serious consequences. In management circles it is recognized that the problem of management essentially is to limit this subject area, but management gradually finds that it has to give ground. Therefore, from whatever point you begin, it is reasonably certain that the definition of what is suitable for negotiation is likely to expand and likely to be very difficult to limit.

The recent ruling from WERB that the school calendar is subject to negotiation will perhaps be only the beginning of a number of other things that will (at least in the eyes of the regulatory body) be viewed as negotiable. This will continue to complicate the process, because as we move from talking only about salaries into all of the other matters that will eventually be recognized as negotiable, the entire process gets more complicated.

Sixth. Once an agreement is reached, assuming that one is reached, it must be reduced to writing.

This requirement moves into an area where a knowledge of the language of contracts is required. It will probably be found that documents used as contracts or agreements tend to expand and that there is a tendency towards more hair-splitting of terminology. Once again the point is finally reached where counsel is needed.

MECHANISMS FOR BREAKING NEGOTIATION DEADLOCKS

Another section of the law (which brings a different set of problems) does provide mechanics for breaking deadlocks. Probably all would agree that this provision is good, but each of the kinds of mechanics which are established do pose some problems for boards of education and administrators.

For example, there has always been a question in the minds of board members concerning the legality of the board's submission to arbitration. Even if it is legal (in the technical sense of legality) in all likelihood there are many board members who feel a moral responsibility *not* to submit to arbitration *which is binding.*

Mediation is the second mechanic for breaking deadlocks. The problem with mediation is that it operates from a supposition that there will be a move toward a middle ground. Submitting to mediation almost connotes that we are going to come to an agreement that is somewhere between where we are now deadlocked and the solution desired by each of the negotiating parties. If a board of education feels, for example, that they have reached a point beyond which they cannot go in bargaining, they then have a real problem when submitting to mediation, because the supposition in mediation is that you will find another place to go which will move you from your last decision.

Fact-finding is another mechanic for breaking deadlocks, and is probably the one which will be most used. At least fact-finding is currently the most used mechanic in education circles for resolving negotiating deadlocks. Fact-finding requires the expenditure of money, but the cost is born by both parties. This cost is relatively small. Actually only the time and expenses of the fact-finders are paid by the negotiating parties. At least in a few instances, however, the contemplation of the expense has kept people from moving into fact-finding.

Finally, a fourth mechanism is the provision for certain grievance procedures. At the point of providing this mechanism in employment contracts, again, the movement has been in the direction of much more formal kinds of statements. Grievances which otherwise might not be dealt with may, in fact, be encouraged. Since the statute brings under the protective umbrella of the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board all of the employees of school boards, this gives everyone a place to appeal.

The biggest problem in the grievance area is the problem of conflicts in dismissal. There is one case about which there has been considerable ferment. The question raised herein concerns the processes for dismissal and puts the board of education in the position of having its dismissal process reviewed. The board may insist that the dismissal was because of incompetency or other good grounds. However, if evidence is found that this dismissal is related to the union activities of the employee, then the dismissal can be counter-manded by the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board. The school board then finds itself in a very uncomfortable position of not being able to exercise its authority as it interprets it by other statutes. It probably is unfortunate that the particular Muskego, Wisconsin, case (which has now gone through a number of courts and may be settled at this point) was not settled in terms of any answer to the real issues. The Muskego case was settled on a point of law by saying that since the WERB ruling was not made within the legally prescribed time limit, it is void. This decision does not clarify the dismissal authority of school boards, and the real issue involved in the case concerning the relationship of union memberships to the exercise of dismissal powers by the school board is still unsolved. The Muskego case is very interesting. It illustrates the considerable time and expense which will be involved if there are to be multiple cases of this kind.

The issues of just dealing with the present statute could be summarized as follows: 1) there is now a necessity to learn a number of new techniques; 2) more complicated, time-consuming, and more expensive procedures are developing; 3) many situations are obviously causing greater conflicts; and 4) there are several areas of unanswered conflicts in statutes that seem not to be compatible.

EDUCATION AND LABOR-MANAGEMENT TECHNIQUES

Moving from the practical kinds of issues to the second level of problems, it appears in many cases that they are the same problems looked at from a more philosophic standpoint. A beginning can be made by asking the following question: Are labor-management bargaining techniques really applicable to the educational field? These issues could best be illustrated by exploring some of the basic differences between industry bargaining and bargaining as it might apply to education.

The assumption that the existing bargaining technique in industry is highly successful is frequently a false assumption. The success of current bargaining techniques should be questioned. Generally people in Wisconsin have proceeded under the assumption that present techniques in industry are highly successful, and comparatively, perhaps, this is the case, but whatever costs are involved in the procedures as they exist in industry must be considered in evaluating this assumption.

More basic than questioning the assumed success of industry bargaining techniques is the operational difference between industry and education. The basic question being decided at the industrial bargaining table is the question of what return of the profit is due to labor. On the one hand, management owns the tools and the capital and hires the labor. Bargaining is an attempt to reach for the laboring man his appropriate share of the profit. Obviously there is no monetary profit to divide in education. For example, when the President has a 3.2 percent guideline for increased productivity, this becomes a rationale for bargaining in industry. This type of guideline is inappropriate to the education business since there is no new productivity which can be measured to give this rationale. There is no amount of product which can be divided. There is, in fact, no single ownership of the tools or the capital used in education. The public school structure is jointly owned by the entire community including people on both sides of the bargaining table in education-related bargaining.

Of course, it should be recognized that a board of education is quite different from a board of directors of an industry. Boards of education are operating within the framework of some well-established law, some of which has already been alluded to as contradictory to the new statute. An example of these contradictions are the cases of minority employee groups who now do not have bargaining access to a board of education. Certainly, it is the intent of our general school law and certainly the boards themselves feel morally obligated to hear all of their constituents for any reason. This is part and parcel of the concept of local control which has been revered in educational circles.

The problem of whether or not a teacher can be fired for incompetence if he already has some protection because he may have been active in bargaining has been previously cited. This conflict is actually in law, for it would appear that a board of education has a legal right and a legal responsibility to insure that an incompetent teacher is not continued.

Should collective negotiations or bargaining be conducted in a public meeting? Best bargaining techniques appear to indicate that bargaining should be conducted behind closed doors, and announcements of its progress should not be made unilaterally until agreements are reached. However, the facts of the case for school boards, at least, are that they must attempt to carry out this process in somewhat of a fishbowl. Collective negotiation thus becomes a different kind of thing. It might be argued, legally, that this is a personnel matter, that doors can be closed to the public, and bargaining can then proceed. Many boards of education, even if they felt legally that they could do this, would have public relations problems with their local press. There might be many editorials in the local news media about secret meetings which would be damaging to board-community relationships.

These differences between industry and education are already recognized in that the ultimate weapon of labor, which is the strike, is denied the teacher by statute. In typical labor-management relationships the union usually gives away its strike power for the period of the contract. In this exchange there is some protection on both sides. The teacher has no strike power to give away and at the outset, therefore, is in a different position.

The fact that the kind of industry-wide bargaining practiced in the private sector permits the passing on of the costs of the bargaining process to the consumer of the product should be examined. Whatever costs accrue become part of the price of the product. Of course industrial organizations are in competition with one another. Industry tries to keep the price down, but whatever the resulting cost is has to eventually get figured into the product. If the price is then too high, the industrial organization goes out of business. Education cannot cost-out its product in the same manner that the price of an article for the market is costed. Neither can a public school go out of business. Therefore, education is in a completely different situation from industry in respect to the education bargaining position.

Because of these facts, the education bargaining table ought to be at a different point. The present scene finds the bargaining table in professional negotiations between administration and boards of education on one side, and teachers on the other. The real point at which the bargaining table ought to be located is between administrators, teachers, and boards of education on the one side and the public which has to provide the wherewithal to run the operation on the other side. We are trapped. We are trapped in the present arrangements by having the bargaining table at the wrong point.

Industry can, after the smoke clears away, usually let the union look fairly good. It is to industry's advantage to allow the public to think they have been rather generous with their workers. By contrast and almost in the opposite situation, the school board in the public eye cannot afford to look too generous with the public's money. As a matter of fact, if boards are too generous, the school board members are likely to lose their jobs in the next election.

IS "GOOD FAITH" BARGAINING BASED ON FAITH OR POSTURE?

The whole technique of "bargaining in good faith" as it is known in industry should be reviewed. The connotation of "good faith" as it applies to industry bargaining is not the same "good faith" as most school people interpret the words.

"Good faith" in industry bargaining, for example, means that one never starts where he expects to end up. One is bargaining in "good faith" when he starts at one point knowing full well that he is going to retreat from that previous position to another. No matter how hard the table is pounded and the "final" position affirmed, the next position has already been planned.

This game of musical chairs has gotten bargaining in "good faith" into the kinds of rituals that industry goes through to arrive at its agreements. We schoolmen are a little naive about that.

There are many school board members in Wisconsin who would assume that having "good faith" about this would be saying what they really expect to do for teachers, and not in saying something else or expecting to move someplace else. Also in "good faith" bargaining as it exists in industry, there are many deals which are made away from the bargaining table. The ritual of the bargaining table goes on as a window dressing. Some examples of this could be cited.

Board members are in a poor position to attempt to learn the rules or to play this ritual of bargaining. What board member can normally sit through a continuous session? One of the techniques of bargaining is that a point is finally reached where you have a continuous session under the assumption that if it goes on long enough everyone gets so weak and weary that they agree simply because they are tired. There are these marathon bargaining sessions in industry. Industry and labor bargainers are familiar with this kind of bargaining technique. Most school board members have some other job and cannot bargain in "good faith" continuously.

What board can or will empower a single board member to represent it at the bargaining table? Yet, good bargaining technique as it is known in industry requires that bargainers come to the table with a certain amount of authority to say "this is the agreement" and not have to worry about going back and getting it ratified at some other point. We ought to look at this entire process and decide whether or not these techniques really fit the public school type of operation.

Finally, some questions should be raised about the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board (with apologies to Mr. Anderson who is administering the law as he sees it, and doing an excellent job of it). Whatever criticisms are made of the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board are not personal criticisms directed at Mr. Anderson. However, at some point the regulatory agency must be looked over to see whether or not it is, in fact, exercising more power than is good; whether or not procedures of courts which now provide certain amenities and protections for people are applicable here; and, finally, whether or not there are involvements of appropriate people in the decisions.

BARGAINING TECHNIQUES SUITED TO EDUCATION

If it is agreed that there is not a direct parallel between industry and education, some corrective action should be considered. The next big issue is, "how in the world are we going to do it?" This is a tough problem, because at this particular point in time, the National Education Association affiliate, at least, is trapped into a position of not now being able to support a change in the statute. A few years ago there was not much enthusiasm for this statute by the National Education Association affiliate in Wisconsin. Now that the statute is here, it would be difficult to convince the National Education Association affiliate teachers that their teacher members should not be under its umbrella. Essentially this is the case, because the National Education

Association leaders would then be subject to the criticism that they are going soft rather than being militant. These association leaders simply cannot take the non-militant position.

This points a hard road for board members if we agree that there should be some corrective legislation, because this change in legislation rests upon the ability of board members and administrators to convince the teaching staff that the present statute is not good for them or for education in general. It will be a difficult job to accomplish this. Yet there is some thoughtful consideration that this ought to be done. There are some serious questions being raised as to whether or not this whole negotiation procedure is good for education.

Whether or not the teaching profession is giving itself a black eye which in the long run militates against the kind of wages teachers ought to have, is a question which needs examining. One school board member is known to have remarked, "Well, we are now dealing with teachers in the same way that we always dealt with janitors." Certainly by that process, the teachers were not raised professionally, at least in the eyes of this board member. How the public looks at this matter is another kind of question, yet there is some evidence that the public is highly impatient with these procedures, and the public does not seem to see industrial negotiation procedures as being applicable to teachers.

John Fischer, quoted in the December issue of the NEA Journal, stated the problem fairly succinctly in saying,

> In my opinion it could be seriously damaging to the profession and unfortunate for the country if teachers came to look on themselves as workers in a mass-production enterprise. Some type of group negotiating or bargaining is necessary for them of course, but it would be too bad if the price of collective action should turn out to be the freedom and initiative of the individual teacher. The question is how teachers can exercise proper power without becoming pawns.[1]

If anything which has been said sounds negative, or seems to be from a position that would not give teachers proper salaries, or would not recognize their right to be full-scale citizens, it certainly is not intended that way. Most board members agree, that teachers ought to have a lot more in salary than they currently receive. They ought to have great improvement in working conditions. The question being raised is whether this collective negotiation road is the proper road to achieve that improvement and whether or not some leadership should not be attempted to get us on a better path.

QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR

Q. We go through negotiations and an agreement is not necessarily reached. For instance, the teachers are asking for $500 across the board, and the school board allows $200. The teachers' group then has a right to mediation or fact-finding long before coming before the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board. Is the school board obligated to follow the conclusions of the fact-finders or the mediators? If the board does not follow these suggestions, what further recourse do teachers have?

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[1] Mildred S. Fenner, "The Editor Interviews John J. Fischer," *NEA Journal* Vol. 55; No. 9, December 1966, p. 13.

A. Mr. Anderson would be better able to answer that question than would I. Perhaps he will correct me if I give the wrong answer.

Mediation can be had only if both parties agree. There is nothing binding about mediation. Mediation only means that you are bringing in a third party to attempt a settlement. Thus mediation differs from arbitration, which is pre-agreed to; i.e., you agree ahead of time with whatever decision is reached.

Fact-finding is not binding on the board. Fact-finding can be had by either party at its request. A fact-finder will make recommendations, but the board is free then to take whatever action it sees itself taking. It is not binding, and I guess the theory of this is that bringing in the third party to find the facts and to make a recommendation, at least as far as the public is concerned, informs them better of the issues and perhaps permits a settlement by having brought out all the facts. But none of these things are binding on the board, except arbitration.

Q. In view of your location of the bargaining table, do you mean that the administration-teacher-school board bargaining really should be with the public, rather than within ourselves?

A. I guess what I was saying was that the present arrangement forces the fight between a board and administration with teachers which really assumes that they are on opposite sides of something. Really, they are not. The boards of education generally want good education for the kids in the community which they are serving. There are some exceptions, but for the most part this is why people are on boards of education. They ought not to get put in a position of fighting. The real fight is to get the funds. This is a kind of theoretical thing. There is no way you can move the bargaining table over here. It is a point of view that I am trying to make since the present arrangements split us at the wrong point. It splits us at several other wrong points. It splits administration from teachers, and traditionally we work pretty hard not to have this split occur.

Theorists tell us this is necessary. If you are in a hierarchical arrangement you cannot avoid the split. Even chickens have a pecking order. You cannot avoid this kind of thing, but I would argue that in another way a group of professional people do not arrange themselves hierarchically even if the organizational chart says so. Many principals look to their physics teacher for leadership in the area of physics, and superintendents look to their reading consultant for leadership in the area of reading. This is the essence of being professional. It is a different kind of arrangement than with a foreman and a group of people in a shop. Yet I think the arrangements now put us in the foreman-shop relationship, and I do not think that we ought to stand still for it.

Q. I could voice a minority opinion here. I think that the case you made for the differentiation between the situation in industry and business is good. I think you could take the same points and argue a case in the opposite way. We can assume that education is such a different kind of occupation or endeavor from anything else that we do in organized society that we can have a structure or a hierarchy in the organization and still have a cooperative interest. Is that necessarily so?

A. I would not argue that we should not have structure. I think it is necessary we have some vehicles for whatever bargaining is needed. This is not the vehicle as it stands now.

Q. According to the contract a union representative had at our school board last year, one of their statements was an intent to double teachers' salaries every ten years. Now this, I think, is a further difference between industry and the teacher groups. I do not know of any union in industry who has in their rules a factual intent to double the salary every ten years. Doesn't this alienate the teachers and the public, if they are aware of such an intent in the book of rules?

A. Well, I would think that we do not know what industry's aims really are in bargaining, although they make demands in shorter terms than that. One year they are after this benefit, and one year they are after that. I do not think that a union wants to get caught with saying that they only want to double the salary every ten years. Because of inflation it would be too limiting. I do think that the public looks at teachers in a different way when they get involved in this process, if that is what you are saying.

Q. There is one other difference primarily, I think, between education and the industry contract. We are not really negotiating a contract as such with our organization. We are negotiating a salary schedule or certain kinds of policies, whereas the U.S. Steel workers are actually negotiating contracts for a group, not with each worker individually. This contract in industry is not signed with each individual. Don't we contract with teachers individually?

A. I predict we will stop doing it. I think that the trend is not to be in this kind of thing. Eventually, we will have a contract with an association representative, and this will save the clerical work of writing up individual teacher contracts.

Collective Negotiations and The Wisconsin Employment Relations Board

ARVID ANDERSON

Arvid Anderson serves with distinction on the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board. He is a lawyer and brings considerable experience in mediating labor disputes in both the private and public sector.

AFTER Mr. Prasch's very fine outline of the issues, my problem becomes one of dealing adequately with them under the imposed limitations of time.

One of the things that John Prasch and I seem to be in agreement about is the matter of semantics. I am "anti-semantic" about some of the problems which the use of terminology such as professional negotiations, collective bargaining, or collective negotiations causes in this field. Here are a few semantic gems, collected by a scholar, lawyer, and public administrator, the Honorable Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor. In discussing academic conferences he made the following remarks, which seem quite pertinent to this forum.

In a discussion on how to solve difficult labor disputes, one of the public members opened the discussion and said, "I know this is an academician's point of view, but I have had it in the back of my craw a long time. When an unmovable force meets an irreducible minimum, the only answer is fault-finding under statute or compulsive arbitration."

Then there was a comment about the fellow who was way out on the end of a limbo, which sounds about like where my position on these matters may be.

At any rate, I would first like to examine the problems that have been brought about by the enactment of Statute 111.70, review some of the issues that are involved, and examine what might be done about resolving these issues to the benefit of education.

There are some important and significant differences between private and public employment. We feel that our legislature recognized the most important difference in that the decisions affecting wages, hours, and conditions of public employment are essentially *political decisions* (in the best sense of that term) rather than economic decisions as is the case in private industry where the profit motive is present.

It is a political decision whether or not there is going to be education and what the school districts are going to need, just as it is a political decision as to the proper location for the fire department. Economics are very much involved in terms of whether or not it is possible to provide an educational service or in terms of the quality of the service that is to be provided. Economic considerations are much involved also in such matters as assessed valuation, tax rates, and state aids, but the essential decision to provide any public service such as education is a political decision. If the remaining educational decisions are also political decisions, then a system based upon a concept of informed, reasoned persuasion ought to be substituted in the event of impasses for the right to strike (which involves the economic course). The coercion caused by a strike is not appropriate to resolving educational matters in the public interest. Naturally, there is a great interrelationship between the generalizations which have been advanced above. The threat of a utility strike tonight in this community is not unrelated to politics as well as to economics.

If a system of informed persuasion for resolving impasses can work anywhere, it ought to work in eduction where the main business is fact, reason, and persuasion. This is the theory of Statute 111.70.

FACT-FINDING IN COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS

There has been some utilization of the process of informed persuasion in education. There have only been four fact-finding cases to date in education in Wisconsin as contrasted to over one hundred in the other parts of the public sector. In all, there has been a total of only thirty-six fact-finding reports issued to date. The rest of these have been settled short of the process by informal investigation and by mediation where the parties themselves settled without third party intervention after the fact-finding petition had been filed. One of these settlements occurred in education, where the dispute was mediated after the fact-finding petition was filed.

SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS—ATTITUDE AS THE KEY

My comments about the law will be limited to some of the most important aspects of the procedural problems which have been listed so well by Mr. Prasch. It should be emphasized that no statute (no matter how well drafted or whatever its inadequacies) and no administration of such statute (whether good or bad) will play as important a role in whether or not the objectives of the statute are achieved as will the attitudes of the parties.

The attitudes of the public employers in this state and the attitudes of the public employee organizations in wanting to make negotiations work will be a far greater determinant of successful negotiations than any legal decisions. It is encouraging to see that the people who have major responsibility for making this process work are attending these clinics, are taking a very active interest in learning about these issues, are trying to find out what the problem areas are, and are trying to find out how they can best equip themselves to meet their responsibilities in solving these problems.

Whether or not you have a statute does not mean that a collective negotiation problem is coincidental with the statute. The problem of collective negotiations for teachers arises in many states whether it is in Ohio, Oklahoma, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, or other states which have never seriously considered the enactment of statutes. The problem arises in states such as Michigan, Connecticut, Massachusetts, and Rhode Island which have passed laws regulating teacher bargaining. The *problem* is here. The *question* is whether or not there are statutes, or whether or not there are

local procedures, or voluntary procedures, to meet the problems and the demands for negotiations in education.

The demand for separate administration of the statute for the benefit of education disputes is an interesting problem. Education is different, and the profession is different. The subject of professionalism is not challenged as a concept at all, particularly since I belong to a profession which has a closed shop (euphemsitically known as the State Bar of Wisconsin). It would be unseeming of me to criticize organizations for other professions. The only real quarrel with the concept is that teachers are not paid like other professionals, but that is another subject which can be debated at length. Teachers are not even paid as well as the skilled craftsmen who are very busy building schools with public tax dollars. Be that as it may, money, unfortunately, is an involvement.

COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS—GROUND RULES

Turning to some of the problem areas that have arisen in education regarding negotiations, one of the most significant problems that arises is the authority to negotiate. This is one of the fundamental differences between public and private employment. Government in a democracy and in a free society is different from other types of societies, because the decision-making authority is not focused in a vertical organization as it is in private employment.

Although there are many examples of multi-industry bargaining, both on a large and on a small scale where there are some aspects of collective decision-making, the employer in private employment essentially speaks as one voice. This is not perhaps the most important voice in the company since it may be the voice of the treasurer, or the vice-president of industrial relations, or the counsel who is present. This is not true in public employment because of the divisions between the executive, the legislative, the judicial branches, and most importantly here between the executive and the legislative branches.

If collective bargaining is to work in the public service, there has to be some means of developing bargaining teams with effective authority to make recommendations to their alderman, to the school board, to whoever provides the dollars, or to whoever establishes the public school policy. That does not mean the bargainers have the authority to make final and binding recommendations instantly unless they have been given such authority in advance. This delegated authority should be public knowledge, because ratification of the agreements ultimately has to be made at a public meeting. In the absence of such authority, however, bargaining tends to break down. If this authority is not delegated, it will be found that the organization with which the public school is doing business will go around it, over it, or through it to the parties who have the ultimate decision-making authority.

The same thing applies to employee organizations. If these delegated bargainers do not speak effectively and make effective recommendations to their constituents, there will be some problems, because the teacher groups will reject the bargain which has been made for them. If that happens, people who are entrusted with the bargaining responsibility will say to the teacher

representatives "Why have we any reason to believe that you will be any more effective salesmen this time than you were the last time?"

Who should be a part of that negotiating team? Such decisions are to be made by local people. What fits one school district will not necessarily fit another school district.

There are no rules or regulations issued by the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board which tell negotiators what they must do. The establishment of procedural rules is a matter for negotiating parties themselves to decide. It would be wise to utlize the talents and skills of board members, of the superintendent, his staff, his personnel officer, or to hire some outside agent to assist school boards in the negotiations if such persons are available.

With respect to the lawyers, standard advice on this subject (and I say it not facetiously) is that lawyers can play a very constructive role in negotiations provided they do not act like lawyers. What I mean by that is, as advocates of a particular point of view, certainly lawyers ought to counsel their clients about the consequences of an agreement and what each party has authority to do. Once lawyers have given this kind of counsel, their best help would be to inquire as to areas of accommodation and to inquire as to whether an agreement is possible. Whether the parties want to make an agreement or not, ultimately will have to be decided by the parties themselves.

COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS—SCOPE

The question of *the scope of negotiations* is a subject of constant interest. It must be kept in mind that statutes, which exist in this state and which exist in most other states which do have statutes in this area, only control the authority to negotiate about salaries, hours, and terms of employment. Neither of the two teacher-organizations which are active in this area confine their objectives to salary, hours, and terms of employment.

The National Education Association once had as its stated goal the right to negotiate over *all matters which affect the quality of the educational program.* The American Federation of Teachers is slightly more modest in its scope of negotiations claiming as a negotiation subject, *anything that affects the working life of the teacher.* At least they related their demands to *working* conditions. One should not be particularly critical of either of these points of view as legitimate objectives of an organization. These education organization representatives should be reminded, however, that the existing statutes are much more limited in terms of the scope of negotiations. Nevertheless, school board members ought to be aware of the goals and desires of education organizations.

However, applying the terms, salaries, hours, and terms of employment is not as easy as it sounds. Some people want to spend all their time deciding in advance just what the subjects for negotiation are going to be. While those who want to establish an agenda for bargaining as an orderly way of doing business should be commended, I suggest that those persons, who want to list every subject which might possibly arise in negotiations and make a predetermination as to whether such a subject is or is not the proper subject for negotiation, will be either deliberately or unwittingly setting out upon a road of frustration. There are no final answers for many of these subjects to be found in the history of litigation which accompanies such pre-determination of agenda attempts.

The very nature of the profession is also involved here. As the professional leader, the superintendent can be expected to (as Mr. Prasch has indicated) to ask teachers, "Is this program right for our school? How many levels should there be for English? Can our kids absorb this program? What should be the size of our typing room? Should it be twice the size of an ordinary room?" Whether or not these kinds of curricular and physical plant matters are negotiable is highly questionable. In any event, these kinds of discussions revolve about professional problems. These kinds of discussions differ from negotiation.

THE "DUTY" TO CONDUCT COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS

Now we approach the area of negotiations. There is a wide-spread misunderstanding (or at least so it seems) about *the duty to negotiate.* There is a belief that if there is a *duty to negotiate* there is a *duty to agree.* This is not so.

Of course, the majority of my colleagues on the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board have held that there is no duty to negotiate which is an enforceable, labor practice under the Wisconsin Statute except that it is a basis from which fact-finding can be had. Aside from this legal question (and it is quite an important one) it should be quite clear that even if there is doubt about a legal duty to negotiate, *there is no duty to agree.*

In a Madison, Wisconsin, school case, which dealt with a school calendar issue, it was held that the calendar was a proper subject of negotiation. Here the days on which school was taught, days which were vacation days, days which were in-service days, and days which were convention days, rather than the length of the school year, were the subjects of negotiations.

The Wisconsin Employment Relations Board in the Madison case went on to say, "Negotiations on matters subject to collective bargaining do not require either party to reach an agreement. Counsel for the school board had equated the *right to negotiate with a duty to agree,* thus resulting in a delegation of the legislative function vested in the school board. We say that negotiation contemplates that parties will make a mutual, genuine effort to resolve their disagreement, but failing that they have a recourse, the fact-finder." As has been properly explained by Mr. Prasch in answer to an earlier question these procedures *are voluntary and not binding.*

It has been said that it is impossible to completely isolate matters affecting salaries, hours, and working conditions from the duties and responsibilities of the school board in administering education programs. It has been concluded by the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board that where any phase or portion of the legislative responsibility of the school board has a direct and intimate effect upon salaries, hours, and working conditions of its employees, those matters are subject to collective bargaining within the meaning of Section 111.70 of the Wisconsin Statutes. Any refusal to negotiate and to bargain on such items, or any deadlock with respect to these items after a reasonable period of negotiations is subject to fact-finding.

The question may then be properly asked, "What then?" There is a sort of 'what then' attitude which may develop. "If they strike, what then?" Ultimately, the only legal 'what then' is to change the law by political activity, meaning the ballot box. This recourse to the ballot box may or may not succeed.

It is hoped that there can be an acceptance of the idea of the desirability of entering into negotiations when the teachers choose this device. Mr. Prasch points out the problem of persuading the teachers that a certain view perhaps should be followed. This is a democracy, and that opportunity is available.

It should be very clear that the teachers have a choice under the law as it is now to either choose organization or to reject organization. They are not compelled to choose organization. Many school districts in this state (over a hundred) have already voluntarily recognized the local National Education Association affiliate as the representative of the majority of the non-supervisory teachers in a particular school district. But again, the *choice* of representation *per se* is a *voluntary matter*.

COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS IN THE PUBLIC ARENA

Moving briefly to the subject of bargaining in public, there is a difference between making the news and reporting the news. Education is the public's business, and the public has a right to know how its business is being conducted. However, the public's business will be much better conducted, not only in terms of efficiency but in terms of reason, if the negotiations themselves can take place in executive session without the benefit of audience. This does not mean that the public should not be fully informed, and if the parties will not jointly do this, either side can do it.

Hopefully, the school board should assume its responsibility to point out the school district budgetary impact of teacher requests as, for example, how the teacher requests will mean a 12 percent increase in teachers' salaries as were the requests in a recent case. The teachers' union can point out that the school board had offered a 4½ percent increase in teachers' salaries. The school board negotiators can point out as time goes on in negotiations what the status is of the negotiations, but this reporting to the public is a different thing than having the public present in the negotiations.

The WERB Chairman, Mr. Slaveny, and myself over a week ago participated in a negotiations session. Negotiations covered a long period of time. It was only after these negotiations extended unbroken for several hours (lasting from about 1:30 P.M. until about 9 P.M.) that we became aware that this was the first time the parties had been in the parlor by themselves. We were suspicious of what was taking place, because there seemed to be such an arm's length, such a formal relationship in discussing these problems.

At each previous session the teachers had brought a cheering section. Therefore, their representatives were able to point out how effective they were in presenting their demands to the board of education. The emphasis was on who was the best backer and on who was the best champion of the teachers' rights. This kind of cheerleading may be alright for the first or second time around, but it has nothing to do with seeking areas of accommodation.

Also present in the parlor were representatives of the fourth estate, a fact not ignored by either the teachers' organization or two of the very able school board members who were doing the negotiating. The negotiators were not talking to each other but were talking to the newspapers and the public. It may be said that it is fine for the publics' knowing, that this is the publics' business, and the public ought to know about it, but the point is that there was no opportunity for either party to play the devil's advocate within its own group and to consider alternatives. If we gave the teachers what they wanted, what would have been the impact on the ability to recruit teachers, or what other programs would have to be sacrificed in our educational program? How can this be discussed if it all has to be in the open?

Fortunately, with some mediation assistance, the salary dispute was settled, but the mediation role should not be overplayed. Mediators do not possess any uniquely divine skills to pull settlements out of the air and say "this is it!" It is terribly presumptious for a mediator to walk into negotiation proceedings and in a few hours know everything about a particular occupation. Even being an expert in education one does not know the problems of a particular school district, and it cannot be assumed that a mediator is going to master these problems in a few hours.

THE MEDIUM OF MEDIATION

By listening to the areas of differences the mediator may become an effective channel of communication in exploring areas of compromise which might be considered by either side. Would you, Mr. School Board Member, offer a three hundred dollar across the board increase and agree to pay half a teacher's costs to the retirement fund? Would you offer that much if the teachers would take it, and you knew they would take it?

Now the mediator can ask the other question concerning the lower offer of the other group or of whatever the combination has to be. Unless you have an opportunity to *explore* areas of compromise, there is little *hope* for compromise.

This process is sometimes criticized because mediation implies that parties must make a concession. This is not so. Negotiation is a voluntary process. Mediators are going to probe, and they are going to try to find areas of compromise. They are going to try to get people to change their minds. Also, if mediators believed people the first hundred times the people told them "no," mediators would never accomplish anything, but mediation is not binding.

THE COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS ARENA— DOES EDUCATION BELONG?

A considerable case is made that educational problems are different from the problems of other occupations. They are to some degree. The problems of policemen and firemen are also different. We have special police and firefighting forces. The problems of nurses are different as are the problems of many of the other very specialized industries which are now regulated in private employment, whether they are airlines or utilities. The problems of governmental units, whether these are units composed of scientists or engineers, are also different.

Many professional people are organized. The Wisconsin Employment Relations Board incidently, has a petition pending before it from the lawyers of the City of Milwaukee. The lawyers want to bargain with us, and it is a serious proposal. Perhaps special agencies ought to be set up. Some states have set up specialized labor-practice agencies, and one of the glories of experimentation, which is permitted in state action, is that states can differ. For example, Connecticut, Rhode Island, Florida, Oregon, and Washington have each adopted different experiments in special procedures for negotiations for teachers only.

No special argument should be made, however, that these special arrangements are the *only* way of doing things. There is a legislature which can change things, or the administrators can be changed. Nonetheless, this changing of the procedure will not make the problem go away. A change of procedures may equip the public (and equip the parties) to handle the problems better, but the problem of negotiations will remain with us for a long time.

THE IMPARTIALITY OF THE WISCONSIN EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS BOARD

There was a recent suggestion that perhaps there ought to be an examination of the procedures of the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board. It should be recalled that the Board is given a pretty thorough ventilation by the Governor's budget analyst, the legislative budget analyst, and by the courts. The Wisconsin Employment Relations Board is subject to the Administrative Procedure Act. Board decisions (or as some of you prefer, mistakes) are reviewable in the courts. The Board is not always right. The Board recently lost a case in which an answer is badly needed. The matter is really quite embarrassing to the Board because of the delay in the decision-making process.

There has never been a reversal in the history of the decisions of the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board, however, based upon lack of due process. It may be that members did not understand the facts brought before the Board, but there was no lack of proper procedure.

Another aspect of recent criticism concerns the idea that the Board wears more than one hat: that the Board serves as mediator as well as a quasi-judicial agency. This is a public policy choice for the legislature to make. Critics of the Board should be reminded that if they want to shift strictly to a judicial agency, there will probably be accompanying demands that the agency also be entrusted with the authority to investigate as well as prosecute which is the procedure of the National Labor Relations Board. Where such charges are investigated by the government, and if the government is satisfied that the charges are meritorious and issues a complaint, then the government prosecutes the complaint. This investigator-decider-complaint issuer-prosecutor role is not performed by the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board.

There are strong arguments why this investigator-to-prosecutor role ought to be the case, but it is not done. The responsibility for the investigation and prosecution of cases rests with the complaining party, and the defense rests there. Any change in board jurisdiction and responsibility may cause some other problems, but certainly this procedure needs examination.

Teacher Collective Action and the Public Interest

ROBERT E. DOHERTY

Professor Robert E. Doherty, Associate Professor of the New York State School of Industrial Labor Relations of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, has recently conducted numerous problem workshops for presidents of school boards, school district superintendents, and presidents of teachers associations and unions throughout the state of New York. Dr. Doherty has specialized in research in labor negotiations and brings considerable insight to the basic issues involved and their affect on the goals and objectives of public school education.

WHEN WE SPEAK of the employment arrangement in the public schools, indeed in any public enterprise, we are forced to grapple with three essential propositions. The first is that in a democratic society we are concerned that the ultimate authority in directing the public enterprise must rest with the public. Secondly, we seem to have come around to believing that employees of the enterprise have a right to have a collective influence in shaping the conditions of their employment. And finally, those who operate the public enterprise have an obligation to provide a service of the highest quality possible.

Although these three propositions are by no means mutually exclusive, neither are they always complementary. The recent emergence of the second proposition as a viable alternative to unilateral decision-making by public employers has put the first proposition to a serious test and has created profound implications for the third.

What is meant by the expression that, "The public has the ultimate authority in directing the public schools?" It means, in simplified form, that the schools are the creatures of the people and those who operate them, school boards and administrators, have a responsibility to that public. In addition, the state legislature has given to local school boards the power of "complete superintendence" over school affairs (limited, of course, by certain basic minimum requirements established by the legislature itself). The expectation of the public, then, is that in its superintendence of the schools the board will conscientiously attempt to reflect the public interest, and it will not delegate the power given it or use it in a capricious fashion. In other words, so the argument runs, the people are sovereign.

COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS—TEACHER VERSUS HIS PUBLICS?

The emergence of teacher collective action has put this issue of sovereignty to a serious test. It is bending and cracking all around us. At the very least bargaining means that school boards will arrive at their decisions on employment conditions in a different fashion than if they continued to enjoy unilateral authority. Certainly, unless the entire bargaining process is a farce, the board will actually arrive at different decisions than it would have otherwise. For the essence of collective bargaining, as I understand it, is to intrude into what the employer likes to think of as his prerogatives, to prevail upon him to do things he might not want to do. If the employee organization is able and willing to call the employees out on strike, to invoke sanctions, secure mass resignations, institute such measures as the slow-down, or get teachers to "work-to-the-rule," and if, in other words, the employee organization creates enough dysfunction in the enterprise, then we can anticipate that a great many things will be done differently.

What we have, then, is a new force to contend with. The "public will" (if, indeed, there is such a thing as a public will, and if, indeed, it is accurately reflected in the thinking and activities of boards of education), this expression of public sentiment, is frustrated by teacher collective action. We have lost some of our control over how our schools are to be run. Our sovereign right to regulate our public enterprise has been circumscribed.

One hears arguments these days in my State of New York that those school boards which have voluntarily extended exclusive recognition to teacher organizations and have negotiated agreements with them, have, on the face of it, defaulted in their obligation to a sovereign people. Since we have no legislative guidelines and no court or attorney general's opinion dealing with this issue in New York, we find a handful of counsel for school boards advising their boards that they *may* enter into a formalized collective arrangement and a great number saying just the opposite. There is a strong possibility that we shall see a statute emerging from the next legislative session in New York that will resolve this question.

My hope is that we will have the wit to learn something from the experiments now going on in Wisconsin and other states. For in these places this question of sovereignty as far as public education is concerned seems already to have been met head-on since the state legislatures have specifically granted local boards authority to enter into bilaterally determined employment arrangements. The term "seem to have met the issue head-on" is used, because even though the legislative bodies have granted certain rights to teachers and other categories of public employees, not all of us have yet resolved in our own minds what this should mean in terms of our own position as consumers of public goods. More will be said about this problem a little later on (and I should also add that I will be talking from the other side of my mouth).

It seems worth mentioning here, however, that whatever happens in the employment arrangement can have a profound effect on the quality of the educational enterprise. Since most of us are not in a position to shop around for the best educational buy, we are concerned that whatever employment arrangements are arrived at will be consistent with our goals for excellence in educational performance.

TEACHER CONTRACTS—INDIVIDUAL OR COLLECTIVE?

This leads to the second proposition, which is that employees, private and public, teachers as well as automobile workers, have a right to influence, through some form of collective action, the conditions of their employment.

In a sense teachers have always had this right—there is hardly one school board that does not listen very carefully and sympathetically to requests of the representatives of their teacher organizations. But for a variety of reasons this informal arrangement is proving to be unsatisfactory to a great many teachers.

We should pause here to say that when we speak of a "great many teachers" we do not mean all or even most public school teachers. In all likelihood most teachers in small school districts, or even in some suburban areas, are not going to choose collective bargaining as the way in which they will settle their differences with local school boards. There are alternatives to collective bargaining which can be used to provide a greater degree of teacher influence, and we shall probably see a great many interesting experiments in teacher participation in the years to come.

In any case, there will still be hundreds of thousands more teachers in hundreds of school districts who *will* choose a formal, bilaterally determined employment relationship, and we would do well to understand the rationale behind this movement.

Certainly it is important to consider that since 1935, with the passage of the Wagner Act, employees in private industry have had a right to bargain collectively with their employers. This right has become a part of the national concensus. The Congress at that time recognized that individual bargaining was a fiction, that individual employees were no match for the mighty corporation. Congress seemed also to recognize that while there was indeed a large community of interest between workers and their managements, this did not mean that there was an identity of interests. There were occasions when labor and management faced each other as employees and employers, and here their interests often came into conflict. Collective bargaining was devised so that the parties could settle their differences in an orderly fashion, and the purpose of the Wagner Act was to guarantee this right as well as to see that the parties observed the rules of the game.

A complete analogy between public and private employment (there are important differences) is not necessarily the only point here to be made. It is that many public employees, teachers included, now seem to think that they deserve the same protection as their brethern in private industry.

Teachers believe they have the right to bring their collective influence to bear on their employers, i.e., school boards, and that the old ways of making their presence known are just not good enough.

Much of the reason for this movement, of course, springs from rivalry between the two major teacher organizations for the right to be the exclusive representative in individual school districts. There is a strong element of institutional one-upmanship involved, and it is apparent that there is a certain degree of fadism about the whole thing.

The fact should not be lost, however, that there are some real teacher grievances. There are those teachers who want to continue teaching in the same school system, who have career commitments, and want something done about their low salaries, about big classes, about having to perform too many sub-professional chores. Meek requests and polite consultations have not accomplished much.

Collective bargaining, on the other hand, seems to work. At least there is no real question that collective bargaining has brought teachers in New York City, in Philadelphia, in Rochester, and in Newark significantly improved employment conditions. At the very least it would be difficult to persuade those teachers who are now covered by collective agreements that they are no better off now than they would be had the board continued to enjoy unilateral authority.

What implications does this movement have for quality education? Will it make our schools better, make them worse, or have no influence at all? Whatever quality education is, it would be too soon to make a judgment as to what the influence of this teacher organization activity might be on quality education. The first comprehensive collective agreement, after all, was negotiated only a little more than four years ago.

POSITIVE ASPECTS OF COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS

Some possible improvements that might come about through collective teacher-action should now be examined. But before we do that, there are some assumptions to be made.

> *First.* Teachers are also economic men, and, like the rest of us, they are somewhat motivated by monetary considerations.
>
> *Second.* The public, whatever that term means, is by-and-large apathetic or indifferent about educational quality. The standards which the public as a whole would set for the schools and for educational performance are probably well below the standards school board members and professional people would try to achieve or uphold.
>
> *Third.* The last assumption is that it takes money, lots of it, to build quality education. It takes a lot of other things, too, of course, but there is not a good school system that is not also an expensive one.

Now what does teacher collective action have to do with all this? We must first recognize that when teachers join together to press for improvements in working conditions, they are acting in their own selfish interest. One hears them talk a great deal about professionalism and their concern for the welfare of children. It is not to be suggested that they are indifferent to these matters, indeed, teachers feel very keenly about educational quality, but the fact of the matter is that teachers want more money and less work. At least teachers want less of the kind of work they find so irritating.

Teachers also want a stronger, more formalized role in policy-making. This is not entirely for the reason one hears advanced so frequently: teachers know better how to go about improving the schools than the board does. There is, perhaps, a more basic reason. Policy changes affect teachers' lives. Life can be made more pleasant or more unpleasant by policy changes. So when policy revisions are being contemplated, teachers increasingly want a piece of the action. Teachers want, as all of us want, to escape as much as they can from being buffeted by circumstances over which they have no control.

When, as a consequence of collective teacher-action, backed by teachers' willingness to create dysfunction in the enterprise, the community begins to pour more money into the schools than the public thinks they are worth or would otherwise have spent, and the board begins to involve teachers in policy formulation in a more direct and intimate way—when this happens, *certain things happen to educational performance.*

There is a relationship between high salaries on the one hand and ease of recruitment and lower teacher turnover on the other. There are qualitative changes that come about with smaller classes. It is an absolute good, I think, when teacher aides rather than teachers supervise the lunchroom, patrol the halls, police the toilets, and do all of the dozens of other subprofessional and demeaning chores that most teachers do nowadays. I am talking here about working conditions that have found their way into comprehensive agreements. These are the conditions that teachers have won at the bargaining table. At least most parents probably do not want their child's teacher to have to do these chores if it means less time and energy to concentrate on the life of the mind.

In this way quality is improved whether anyone really wants it or not. So the point attempted here is that in a community which is apathetic about its schools (and in the general scheme of things most communities are) a selfishly oriented teacher organization bent merely on securing a more pleasant atmosphere, and which also has the power, the will, and the moxie to win these concessions for themselves, can do more for improving educational quality than all the pleas and exhortations of school boards and citizens groups.

Naturally, there is another side of the coin. The intrusion into administrative flexibility that is the essence of collective bargaining can have serious consequences. Not *all* administrators are tyrants, yet a great many agreements assume that they are. An imaginative and innovative administrator can be frustrated in his attempt to bring about needed changes in the system if these changes must first be negotiated. Sometimes, as happened in Rochester, New York, recently, important programs have to be dropped or curtailed because there is not enough money to continue them and at the same time meet teachers' salary demands. There are instances where the grievance procedure has been used to intimidate building principals and to enhance the political status of organization leaders. This sort of thing does not belong in the schools, and my hope is that teacher organizations will develop more common sense and a greater sense of responsibility as time goes on.

One should be, in fact, somewhat sanquine about this possibility. New York City's United Federation of Teachers, which has a reputation for being the most militant affiliate of an avowedly militant organization, has recently shown a degree of responsibility that would not have been thought possible as little as a year ago. The union leadership has fought its own membership in the union's support of the New York City School Board's attempt to keep teachers from deserting the slum schools. The union has also come up with its own rather imiginative ideas on teacher recruitment, teacher training, even on the selection of building principals. The need for muscle-flixing, evidently, passes rather quickly. It is instructive to observe here that there has recently emerged within the United Federation of Teachers in New York City a minority "left-wing" faction which seems never to miss a chance to accuse the union leaders of selling out to "the establishment."

This is not meant to gain-say the fact that the coming teacher militancy and collective bargaining cannot be troublesome, or that these militant teachers will not continue to present school administrators and public education itself with some very important problems in the future. Some features of collective action contain genuine causes for concern for all of us, the public.

OPPORTUNITIES FOR IMPROVEMENT THROUGH COLLECTIVE NEGOTIATIONS

There is a potential in the development of collective negotiations in education, however, that most school administrators have not yet begun to exploit. What is meant by this is that there are some changes which school administrators and/or school boards would like to make, changes they would not dare impose unilateraly, which might be brought about through a bargaining agreement. It is difficult to believe, for example, that the New York City School Board could have gotten its teachers to accept the rather significant change in transfer policy mentioned earlier had it not come about through a bargain. The teachers accepted the change, albeit reluctantly, because they received other things in return. That might not be the way preferred by most people to direct school board employees, using a stick that looks like and tastes like a carrot, but it may be the only way to get the really important things done.

It could probably be agreed, for example, that a great many inefficiencies in the administration of our schools have developed over the years. Certainly teacher salary schedules are not flexible enough to recruit, hold, and reward the type of teachers needed, both in terms of competence and subject matter specialization. There is at least an outside chance that if administrators learn to use the bargaining situation wisely that the antiquated, non-professional, and irrational system of compensation known as the uniform salary schedule can be abandoned. At least it is to be hoped that teachers want other things more than to continue to live under that rather outrageous principle—equal pay for equal work.

In short, bargaining can mean that while administrative flexibility may be reduced in some areas, bargaining may also provide an opportunity to increase flexibility in other areas. Bargaining also means that a new and potent force is available which can and should be used by school officials as an ally to convince the public that it should provide the schools with more money. There is nothing wrong with that.

The troublesome features of teacher collective action have been minimized up to this point. But then it would be rather presumptuous of a "researcher" to come all the way from Ithaca, New York, to tell you something you already know. What has been said is that teacher bargaining is not the end of the world, that surely it will become more widespread, that in many areas semi-formal arrangements will become formalized. In all likelihood most citizens and parents of school-age children want public school administrators to learn how to use this new negotiation device to enhance the quality of our public schools. Lord knows that the public schools need improving.

CLINIC II

HOW DO SCHOOL POLICIES GET MADE?

School Board Policies and How They Are Made

EDWARD ZEILER

Mr. Zeiler is the former Superintendent of Schools of Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin. His previous experience as an elementary principal and superintendent spans more than forty years. Since his retirement, he remains actively interested in educational matters and draws from his rich background of experience to comment on current issues.

EVERETT TUTTLE, the first Executive Secretary of the National School Boards Association, in his book, *School Board Leadership in America,* said: "In general, the function of a school board is to establish policies for the operation of the school system in the district, and the function of the administrator or superintendent of the school is to carry out the policies in practice" [1]

This is a rather good definition of function, but in practice the policy-administration distinction can become very confusing and often is the basis of serious conflict between the superintendent and the board.

Theorists have a very simple way of defining policy as compared to rules and regulations. A policy is a general statement of principle. Actually, rules and regulations are difficult to differentiate from policies. Anything which the school board develops (whether it is the specific rule or whether it is in a general statement of policy) can be considered policy.

The Wisconsin statutes assign considerable authority to the school board by rather carefully defining school board responsibilities, but the statutes do not spell out the duties of the superintendent in any detail. The Wisconsin statutes contain only brief references to the superintendent. Rules for the first class city, Milwaukee, are more extensively spelled out than are the rest, since city superintendents (superintendents under city organization) have little spelled out for them. Those not in city school systems have practically nothing spelled out. Therefore, the position of school superintendent is mainly what the school board and the superintendent make of it.

The statutes actually give the school board great powers in saying that "the school board must supervise the conduct of the schools," a rather general statement which gives the school board power to do practically anything it wants to do, even to the extent of taking over functions which we sometimes think of as the superintendent's executive duties.

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1. Tuttle, Everett, *School Board Leadership in America* (Danville, Illinois: The Interstate, 1963), p. 49.

In order to eliminate conflict and disagreement, it becomes very important that the school board and administrator work out a set of policies which are *formulated in writing,* because written policies help straighten out relationships which can become very difficult at times.

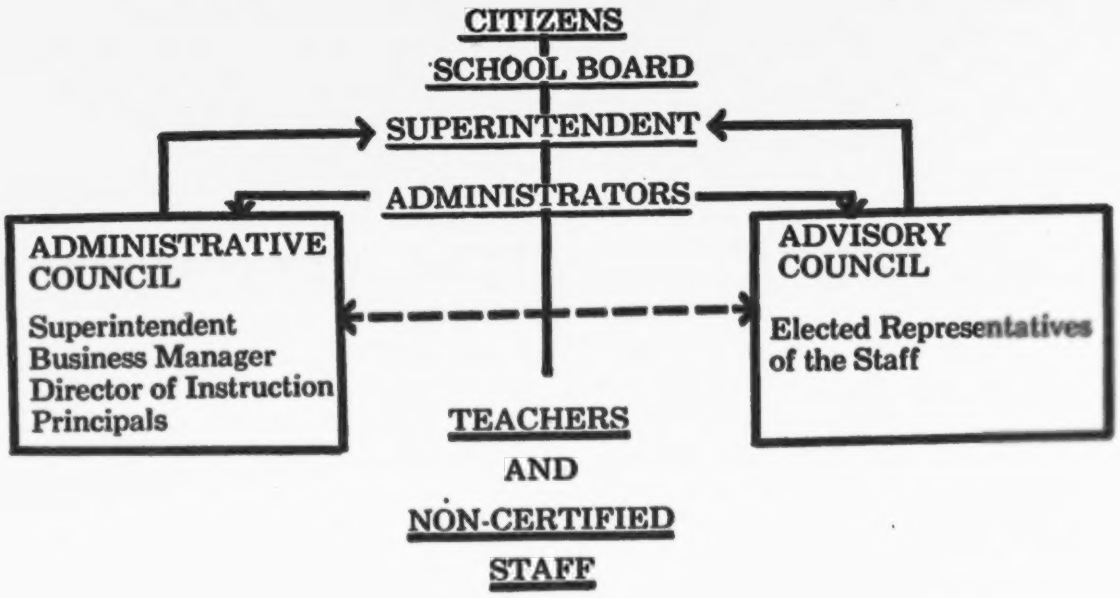
FACTORS INFLUENCING SCHOOL BOARD POLICIES

There are some general considerations which should be examined in any discussion of how school board policies get made.

First. In this day of increasing demand for personal freedom of thought and expression, all areas of the school community should contribute to the development of policy.

Second. Suggestions, problems, and complaints have a way of escaping our thoughtful consideration unless there is some type of structure for the development of policies and for the periodic review and updating of policy.

There must be some machinery for developing policy—it just does not grow by itself. This is quite important, and sometimes we miss it. The following organizational chart appropriately illustrates this point:


CITIZENS
SCHOOL BOARD
SUPERINTENDENT
ADMINISTRATORS
ADMINISTRATIVE COUNCIL
Superintendent
Business Manager
Director of Instruction
Principals
ADVISORY COUNCIL
Elected Representatives of the Staff
TEACHERS
AND
NON-CERTIFIED
STAFF

This chart represents one type of organization which has been used. On the top of this organizational chart are the citizens, who pass on their power to the school board, which hires the superintendent, who runs the school. The flow of power goes on to the administrator of the individual schools, the business manager, on to the teachers, and to the non-certified staff. To develop policy, the superintendent needs help from many people.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF SCHOOL BOARD POLICY—OPERABLE INFORMATION CHANNELS

In practice, every school system has to work out its own procedures. This is the organizational scheme which we used where I worked. First, we had an advisory council. This advisory council was composed of people elected by the staff. Classroom teachers were elected by buildings with two representatives from each building. There was a representative of the traveling teachers, a representative of the elementary principals, and the high school principal. The director of instruction and the superintendent were ex-officio members.

This council met every month on a regular date. They elected a chairman and a secretary. They discussed anything they wished including policies of any kind or just plain gripes. At times they sounded like gripe sessions, but one must be willing to listen to these petty complaints in order to get the real nuggets of value.

This advisory council provided an avenue for teachers to bring their viewpoints to the attention of the administration through a third person without being directly involved. Teachers could talk to the building representatives, and the building representative would bring the problem to the council, without mentioning the teachers by name. The council would then discuss it, give an answer, or pass it on to the authority who could give an answer. At the very least this is a method of getting information revealed.

In addition, there was the administrative council comprised of the principals, the business manager, the director of instruction, and the superintendent. In a large school system more administrative people would probably be involved. The administrative council considered administrative problems, and also advised the superintendent.

Both of these councils were channels for feeding back to the superintendent information which could then be given to the school board. They were contacted directly and made their contact, in turn, through the superintendent. This is highly important.

The organization chart previously mentioned shows how an attempt was made to solve problems through the organization of an administrative council and an advisory council. Problems or complaints were discussed and eventually used to develop the necessary recommendation for policy change or addition. These two groups may initiate a recommendation which can then be taken to the school board, but all recommendations should pass through the superintendent's hands, since he must use judgment in his presentation to the board.

The superintendent, who works through the school board, has to be very careful that he presents things at the proper time. He cannot always present things as they come up. Timing is important because the board must first be prepared before a problem can be presented to them.

The chart also shows clearly that the superintendent is the catalyst who provides leadership for keeping policy in line with changing conditions. He must constantly encourage and stimulate his administrators and staff to alert him to situations which demand clarification, change, or additions to policy. This does not happen by the superintendent merely saying, "My door is open, you can always come and talk to me." There must be machinery, and the superintendent is the man who must keep it oiled and working. Constant evaluation and review is essential.

Superintendents sometimes rely too heavily upon the "open door" policy. After working nineteen years (as an elementary principal) very closely with a group of teachers who felt free to come into my office, pound on the table, and say, "I think this is wrong," I moved to the superintendency. These same people, who were previously so willing to come in and talk, now shied away. I wondered, "Am I a different man?"

The office and the position were now different. As the superintendent, jobs of the staff were pretty much in my hands, and this made a difference. If we say we have an open door, it does not mean much, because people do not use the open door. Some will, but many of them will not. We have to have machinery which will protect the person, so that he can be heard without necessarily being identified.

POLICY IMPLEMENTATION

School boards have the responsibility of giving careful consideration to the development of policy by giving serious thought to all suggestions. They must act only after careful consideration, but they must act with responsibility and then recognize their duty to support the policy adopted.

Again we come to a problem which can raise havoc in a school system. A school board agrees upon a policy. When the principal or superintendent carries out this policy, the school board kicks over the traces and says, "We don't like that. That isn't the way we want to do it." Once you have adopted a policy, it must be supported until it is changed by proper method. Otherwise, there will be trouble.

Once policies are reduced to writing, it is essential that all staff members be given copies and thoroughly informed, so that they can support policies at their respective level of authority or responsibility. The principal, the specialist, the teacher, and the maintenance man, each has a level of responsibility and authority which is governed by board policy.

Each of them, frequently makes decisions which involve policy. To be certain that policy will be carried out, each of these parties, therefore, must be informed, and they must have policy available to them to which they can refer when necessary.

Before going into specific examples of policy development, the general considerations previously suggested should be briefly summarized:

1. There must be a sound climate for policy development: a receptivity on the part of the board and the superintendent.
2. There must be an organization or a structure for orderly development and periodic review of policy. It is essential.
3. The superintendent must provide strong leadership for keeping policy in line with changing conditions and serve as the catalyst for change.
4. The board must take responsible action, and then completely support that action.
5. All staff members must be informed and support that policy at their respective level of responsibility and authority.

SCHOOL BOARD INTERNAL POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Let us examine how a particular policy can develop. It will be evident from the following points that a staff and a school board must each spend the time and effort necessary to develop sound policies. Often the most serious problem involved is finding the time.

The first example is an illustration of school board policy regarding the operation of school board committees. This policy example pertains to the operation of the school board and affects only the school board and the

All of us who have taken courses in public school administration have been told in the books that school boards should not have committees—that boards should always work as a committee-of-the-whole. However, most of us on the job find that school boards have committees in spite of what the textbooks say.

Why do school boards have committees? The legislature has committees, the county board has committees, and the village board has committees. Why should the school board not have committees? This is the way board members reason.

Years ago Elwood Cubberly wrote an adverse comment concerning committees, and everybody has copied it since. Committees, however, persist. If the board consists of over seven people, there is a place for committees, but some safe-guards must be present.

Our board had committees, and those committees got into difficulties, exactly as the authorities had predicted. Some committees got the idea that when they decided something, the problem was solved. After committees made a decision, other school board members then raised the question, "What do you mean? Only the committee decided something. We didn't have anything to say about it." In fact, the superintendent often raised questions. Consequently, we ran into conflict and differences of opinion about committee operation.

Most policy deliberations begin with some sort of conflict or misunderstanding. One night there was an argument in a public meeting which was a little embarrassing for everyone concerned. After the combatants cooled off, they realized that this sort of thing should not happen. The director of the board received some calls from these board members (and also got one from the superintendent), which pointed out that such an outbreak might have undesired consequences. The director decided to call a meeting of the board as a committee-of-the-whole to discuss the matter informally. We met and took the first step toward developing some policy.

The board agreed that responsibility for developing a first draft of policy governing the operation of committees should be assigned to a subcommittee consisting of the director of the board and the superintendent. The director and the superintendent met and tried to draw a rough draft of how school board committees should operate. After this was formulated, the draft was discussed with the board. There were some changes suggested and adopted. Finally, the committee-of-the-whole agreed to the wording of the draft.

At the next regular board meeting, the clerk of the board presented this policy statement. There was a brief discussion at the public meeting, the policy was adopted, made an official part of the minutes, and added to the Rules and Regulations of the board.

The matter did not get outside the board operation, because it concerned the internal working of the board. This is an example of policy developing in one area of school operation. It went through a certain channel in getting developed and helped clarify a procedural question facing the board.

SYSTEM-WIDE POLICY DEVELOPMENT

The second policy problem presented grew out of a different situation and illustrates variations in the gorwth of policy. For several years the board allowed the superintendent, the principal of the high school, and eventually the principals of the elementary schools to attend professional conventions with paid expenses. At first, only part of the expenses were paid by the school board. Later all of them were so paid.

Then came requests from teachers, department heads, and others for time off and for reimbursement to attend professional conferences. The board had no policy covering this matter. When first receiving these requests, as happens with most boards, the board passed on the individual case. We said, "This fellow has been with us for fifteen years. We will allow him to go to the convention once, and we will pay his train fare."

Once a precedent was set others asked, and soon we had a group of people asking to go to conventions. With no guidelines to rely upon, we faced some difficult decisions. Obviously, it is desirable to encourage staff members' attendance at worthwhile professional meetings, yet certain controls must be present.

This problem was brought to the advisory council of the elected representatives from the staff. The advisory council discussed it at length and realized that it was not easy to solve. They could see that these requests could mount up to staggering expense. Everybody could not be allowed to go to everything.

Therefore, it was decided to appoint a committee to study the matter and to make recommendations. At the same time the administrative council had been informed of this problem through their membership in the advisory council and discussed it quite thoroughly. Information was gathered concerning the number of future requests which might be anticipated.

It was agreed that the advisory council should assume the responsibility of working out a policy for convention attendance. The advisory council established a special committee to study the matter. The special committee went to individual buildings and raised questions by talking to staff members and getting their ideas. The advisory council asked for a place on the agenda of the regular building-staff meetings and always were allowed to bring information to these building-staff meetings. The principals also discussed it with the teachers in their building meetings. The committee gathered information informally as well. They gathered people's reactions and feelings concerning this problem. Gradually, the committee arrived at a tentative policy, made a rough draft, and presented it to the advisory council for discussion.

The advisory council discussed it at length and asked the business manager to estimate the cost involved. After careful study, the advisory council agreed on a policy statement. Once approved by the advisory council, the proposed policy was brought to the administrative council for thorough discussion. After the administrative council added suggestions, representatives of the two councils met and agreed upon a statement.

This statement of policy was then approved by both groups and handed to the superintendent. Of course, the superintendent was familiar with what was occurring. Next, the policy statement was presented to the board. The school board discussed it and made some minor changes. Interestingly enough, the school board made the conditions even better than those asked for by the teachers. The policy was accepted by the school board and became a part of the official minutes and the Rules and Regulations.

These illustrations of policy formulation operated in two entirely different areas: one entirely within the board, and the other throughout the entire professional staff. Many other examples could be cited. These are only two policy developments, each worth considering because they represent two different areas of policy development which traveled two different routes illustrating that the procedures of policy development are a function of the policy being considered.

OTHER SOURCES AND METHODS OF POLICY DEVELOPMENT

Policy may be developed from the suggestions of parents, the Parent Teachers Associations, students, or people in the community. Policy suggestions may come from many areas. If you examine school board policy manuals, you will find that many policies relate to the operation and use of buildings and grounds for outside organizations. This is a big problem, and our board wrestled with it at great lengths. This type of policy development travelled an entirely different route from the routes previously described. Each policy has to follow a different development route depending upon *who* and *what* is involved. In all cases, however, the opinions of those affected were sought, a dialogue to encourage differing viewpoints was encouraged, and the final agreements were reduced to writing.

QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR

Q. Once you have these policies down in your book, you have a great tendency not to read the book. Couldn't we be working on policy revision regularly? Does anybody here have experience on reviewing written policies on a scheduled basis, on a topic basis, or how are they to be reviewed?

MR. ZEILER. At practically every board meeting you are apt to make some slight additions or changes to policy. Board meetings have a tendency to handle policy matters sometimes without realizing it. Until we look at any board action carefully and say, "Is this a slight modification of present policy?", there has to be a periodic review. The biggest problem is finding the time for this review.

We revised our policies in 1964 and called the policy books, "Rules and Regulations." We did not try to separate policy from rules and regulations.

When we revised these policies, we found that the previous policies had been set up seven or eight years before. The business manager and I, personally, went through all the board minutes from the time the old policies had been adopted and took out those items which had to do with policy. We then compared these, and on that basis made our revision. The board then went over them and acted on the entire policy statement after it was finished. This kind of policy revision takes a lot of time and effort. One of the problems of the school superintendent is to find the time to do that kind of thing.

We spent hours pouring through seven or eight years of school board minutes, carefully selecting from them those items which affect policy. It is a terrific job, but it is worth doing and needs to be done.

Q. Does anyone follow the practice of putting these written policies in a looseleaf binder from which individual pages can be removed? Then, when the board of education adopts a new policy or takes an action which supercedes the written policy, that one page can be inserted.

MR. ZEILER. This can be done with plastic binders. You can put them in a machine, open them up, take out the pages, and put them back in again. This type of binder is very useful.

Q. Referring to your illustration concerning the matter of studying policy, one step seems a bit obscure. You told of the advisory council and the administrator councils meeting separately. The advisory council gathered information, and after working with information, forwarded it to the administrator's council. Then you said that both groups met. Was this a point of contention?

MR. ZEILER. There were a few areas in which the administrative council did not agree with the advisory council on points they wanted to change. It is like the Senate and the House getting together in conference and ironing out some of their differences. They were very minor things, but they did meet and iron them out. Some of the differences were a matter of words. This is one of the big problems you run into, of course; the matter of semantics. We had some people from the English department who helped in wording the final statement.

Q. It seemed to me this arrangement of an advisory council of representatives of the teaching staff of each school would tend to undermine the authority of the principal or the chain of communication of the principal and superintendent by sort of "running around the end."

MR. ZEILER. This is a very good point, a legitimate one, that concerns many people. The advisory council is, first of all, only advisory. Second, anything which affects general policy must be referred to the administrative council before it is acted upon. It must always come back to the administrative council. This is where the final decision is going to be made. This is important.

However, part of the problem depends upon the kind of personal interrelationships involved. We like to think that we made it very clear to the advisory council that they could make suggestions, but that the administrative council was going to have a chance to consider the matter, decide what they thought best, inform the advisory council of their decision, and discuss the matter further if so desired. This is the way it went with us, but this is something each school system has to work out for itself.

School organizations will vary by the kinds of people involved and by the size of the school system. There are many other factors involved which will vary the kind of organization you must establish. There is no hard and fast rule. Sometimes we felt that the advisory council brought up a lot of little things that were not important, but the very fact that they could get them out of their systems sometimes was a safety valve to clear up matters.

Q. As I understand it, you participated in both of your teams. By virtue of the fact that the final recommendation to the board was to be made by you, would you at any time interfere . . . ?

MR. ZEILER. I tried very carefully in those situations, not to sound off. In other words, I was a quiet bystander, but once in awhile if the train got off the track too far, I would pull them back.

Groups like this have a tendency to run off on side excursions, and somebody has to hold the line and indicate to them that there is a legal responsibility to be recognized. This you have to do. As far as participating in the council, I tried to do this in the manner of keeping them on the track and feeding them the information needed.

Q. What happens if they come along with something you cannot go along with?

MR. ZEILER. You tell them so! The superintendent has a responsibility to the board, and if they are completely off, you tell them!

There have been times when we have said, "Well, we do not agree with this, but we will present it to the board for discussion." The superintendent must retain his duty to report to the board the disposition on a thing. The superintendent of schools is hired as executive director of the board, and it is his responsibility and his duty to say how he feels about a question which comes up. The school board is paying for his professional experience and advice, and if he does not give it, he is neglecting his duty. The school board may not agree as I indicated in the problem of board committee procedures.

The committee sometimes went ahead and made a recommendation. Our school board committees (we have a seven member board) never had more than three members. They did not have a majority of the board on the committee, and it was made very clear to them that the superintendent had responsibility to the total board—not to the committee. It is the superintendent's responsibility and duty to present his viewpoint. If he differs with the committee, it is his responsibility at the board meeting to present his viewpoint to the entire board. This is very important.

Q. You have indicated that the open door policy does not seem to be enough; that there should be machinery. The machinery that you describe is internal machinery for members of the organization. You have also indicated that members outside of the organization such as parent groups, the city council, or some such groups are often involved at least on a consultation basis in the formation of policy. Is the open door policy enough for outside groups, or what kind of machinery should be set up to take care of the external relationships?

MR. ZEILER. Obviously the open door policy is important. People are reluctant to talk to you sometimes, and even parents are reluctant. They often go to a board member instead of going to the superintendent or principal where they *ought* to go, because they are reluctant to talk to these officials, and you have to re-channel the information.

There are several things we can do, however. One is to hold open school board meetings where people are given an opportunity to make comments. This is kind of rough on the superintendent, but, personally, I believe in it. I think it is fine, and I have scars all over me from meetings like that. I still believe in them.

Of course you get feedback from board members who bring in problems that somebody in the village has talked about, and you get problems back from the village board. We have a village board president in Whitefish Bay, Wisconsin, who attends every school board meeting. This is fine, because he knows what is going on. The relationship between the school board and the village board is the best it has ever been, because the village board president has an interest and comes to the school board meetings. Now some of our school board members go to the village board meetings. I think that anything you can encourage in that direction is good.

It is a little more difficult to set up the machinery for outside forces. They hinge on various people, and you just have to pick it up there. I do not know how you could do it by setting up any formal machinery.

Q. Is there a lay person on your advisory council?

MR. ZEILER. No, this is just for staff. We have used lay persons in special committees of various kinds. We have asked lay persons to meet on special problems of one kind or another. It is very possible that a problem might come up here or at administrative council which might involve parents, and we would want to appoint a lay person to work with us. We have done this at times. But, no, there is no permanent lay member of the advisory council.

Q. If a school district would recognize a bargaining unit like WEA, for example, then your advisory committee just becomes the condition-of-work committee, and there probably would not be any principals on it. Somehow the condition-of-work committee just becomes a welfare committee.

MR. ZEILER. We have tried to avoid this by saying this is not the concern of the advisory council. The WEA handles its welfare problems through a special committee which comes to the superintendent and discusses welfare problems. These matters do not come up here. When they came up here, they were ruled out, and we said, "All right, that goes to the welfare committee of the association. Let them handle it." This council handled only problems that affected general operational policies.

Framework for School Board Policy Development

JAMES M. LIPHAM

Dr. James M. Lipham, Professor of Educational Administration, The University of Wisconsin, Madison, began his career in education as a teacher in southern Georgia and successively filled positions as principal and superintendent of schools in Ohio receiving his doctorate from the University of Chicago in conjunction with work at the Midwest Administration Center. His education, experience, and present position lends insightful analysis to his interpretation of school board and school system policy development.

MY FIRST ASSIGNMENT as a superintendent was in a school district where the only available policies were carried in the hip pocket of the previous administrator. Being bright-eyed, bushy-tailed, and having listened to some of the lectures in School Administration at Ohio State, I proposed to the board that we ought to firm up our policies. Being a wise and patient group, they promptly delegated this to me. After I firmed up the policies, they adopted them. Then, we had to live with them.

The following comments about the policy process are based partially on those sad experiences, partially on some training which may or may not have taken, and partially on some recent experiences in a study of the school board role which was sponsored by the United States Office of Education. In the course of this study, we have been in close contact with boards of education—at least twelve in Wisconsin. Some of the preliminary findings from this study relate to the topic of school board policy development.

One issue which can be raised is whether or not there is a useful distinction between *policy-making* and *policy-execution.* I feel that this distinction is something that has been foisted upon us. It is a false dichotomy, a useless tilt with a windmill. In this regard I disagree with Walton who says that the administrator's business is to administer and not to get involved in the *policy process.*

The second distinction that is often made is between *administrative rules and regulations* and *board policies.* Again, this seems to me to be a fruitless distinction. One way of looking at the problem indicates that all that we do either shapes policy or is shaped by policy, and these two things get intertwined. There is not much that is sacrosanct about trying to separate the two, and as Mr. Zeiler pointed out, usually the distinction is only in terms of the extent to which the detail is written.

There is another point at which I differ with many of the so-called authorities—the textbook writers. This difference grows out of some research recently conducted in Oregon where a systematic survey was made of school district policies. In these studies the researchers wrote to school superintendents and asked them for their policy statements. This in itself was revealing, because most of the respondents replied, "Unfortunately, we are in the process of revising our policies." A number of them said, however, "We are enclosing a copy of our most recent comprehensive statements," some of which were undoubtedly hastily assembled, since some of the policy manuals were on old paper with new covers, and others were almost carbon copies of a "Sears, Roebuck-type" catalog—complete with index numbers. Other policy books appeared to be conscientiously and recently done. The primary attention of the study was focused on this last group.

The researchers wanted to make some comparisons of some variables such as program change, program innovation, financial support of the district, rate of teacher turnover, pupil gain, etc. You can name almost any criterion that is used to measure excellence in education, and they tried to impose it on the data. The research found no correlations between the extent to which policies were well written, clear, well cataloged, beautiful, or terrible, and the consistency with which these boards of education took action as revealed in the school district minutes. This sounds like the policies were there for no reason, as if these things do not matter. At any rate, this group decided to look further, and they did find some differences.

The primary difference found was not in the format, not in the recency, not in the consistency of the policies, but was in the extent to which the policies were communicated, understood, and internalized by the members of the staff ranging all the way from the non-certified janitorial group to the superintendent of schools and his council. This may indicate that more attention has been given to creating pretty-looking policy manuals than to getting policy understood. These two things are related. Without appropriate involvements for certain groups (including the school board) the mere assemblage and publication of policies is a futile exercise and a waste of time. The only possible use of these policy manuals could be for some accrediting commission or for some university research group that was curious.

THE SCHOOL BOARD MEMBER'S POLICY DILEMMA

Turning to some solutions of the *policy dilemma,* we need to examine the working relationships involved which are extremely crucial and relate to our recent research study on school boards. In our study of twelve districts, we asked citizens (over 1,700 of them in individual interviews), the city or village council members, a random sampling of teachers, and the board members about the role of the school board. We asked them to indicate the primary decision-makers on a selected number of items—jobs to be done within the organization. For example, "Who should take primary responsibility for the selection of school sites?" We asked the citizens, the city council, the board members, and the teachers this question. There were a whole series of such questions.

In the responses, substantial agreement was found among teachers, elected officials, and citizens that the role of the board of education is a primary role. The people look first to the school board. Even those within the organization, the teachers, ranked the board of education as the primary decision-maker on many of the items.

The board of education group itself, however, seemed to engage in role avoidance. They turned to the superintendent for making most of the primary decisions. We, as superintendents, can compliment ourselves on that, or we can kick ourselves if we are board members, or we can raise questions constructively about this sort of trend. Of course, there are many reasons behind this apparent reliance of board members upon the superintendent for decision-making responsibilities. There is a traditional explanation, and there is a legal one. But there also is the indication that within the profession we have held the board position in relatively high esteem while only giving it lip service. It appears that many board members have been brain-washed into surrendering some of their major responsibilities. Now if the other prospect is raised, that is, if the decision-making structure goes the way the citizens, the city council, and the teachers (to some extent) all thought it should be going, then the question becomes "Who is running the school?" However, it is largely a useless exercise to raise this sort of question, since the answer, obviously, is both boards and superintendents.

The real question is why do board members tend to engage in role avoidance, and to what extent do they avoid the decision-making aspects of their role as it relates to policy making?

There are many reasons for this role avoidance. With the growing complexity of education, the board may recognize a lack of expertise in given areas. Or, the board members may not have sufficient time. They are not full-time, paid employees of the district. But we do have to face the question, "What is the relevant relationship of the board member, himself, to the policy-making process?"

This relationship between the board member and the policy-making process also was emphasized by the indication that citizens are not altogether clear regarding how their representation should be brought to bear. As Mr. Zeiler indicated, the open door policy for the superintendent is fine, but persons tend to go to board members rather than to superintendents. We find from our data that citizens see school board members as the primary decision-makers, and it is logical to assume that they *do go* to board members. Hence, the relationship between the board and the school executive concerning the matter of policy development is crucial.

The possibilities for looking at policy development range all the way from one best way (and this is how you do it in your district) to lots of other ways (and that is how everybody else does it). However, the matter is more complex, because not only is there the one best way in your district, but also there is the one best way in your district for each different kind of policy.

In order for us to focus a bit on the policy process, I have sketched out four stages of policy development. I need to acknowledge, for these terms, the help of Dr. Daniel Stufflebeam of the Ohio State University.

STAGE I—CONTEXT ASSESSMENT

The first stage, largely ignored, is "Context Assessment." What do we mean here? In the development of school policies the first requirement is clearly that of *assessing the nature of the operating context.* In this process the following questions must be given attention and raised from an implicit level (where you think you know) to the explicit level (where it can be discussed). Otherwise, difficulties may be encountered at subsequent stages in the policy development process.

A. What is the nature of the issue or the problem?

B. How aware is the board of the importance of the issue or how frequently does such an issue recur?

C. To what extent do existing policies:

1. Relate to the issue?
2. Subsume the issue?

Here is where some administrators and board members engage in their fanciest footwork. A problem comes up, and in order to handle it they will use an existing policy to subsume the issue. They may not do this intentionally. Many administrators or board members say, "We will act on this in light of this broader policy which we think covers this issue," hoping to get back to review it but never having time to do that. This is where many operational difficulties arise.

Inconsistent actions, for example, come from the inappropriate subsuming of a problem into a category. This is bound to happen, because just as trained school administrators view the school organization in terms of their own set of pigeon-holes, board members, who are not familiar with the operating context, view it from a different set. These viewpoints may be an engineering set, a medical set, a business set, or a farming set.

Board members see the school organization in different contexts, and sometimes the manner in which an administrator relates an issue to a policy seems to board members to be an irrelevant category for handling that particular policy. For example, what is done with the problem of the transportation of parochial school youngsters at district expense? Some administrators put that in a financial category, others put it in a pupil personnel category, and still others will make up categories. There are all sorts of different ways to subsume issues. This is not to get rid of the issue, but it is a matter of trying to appeal to an existing policy so that an operational answer can be achieved.

D. Which individuals or groups are most concerned with the issue and to what extent do they understand existing relevant policies?

Often this is the administrator's and the board's lifesaver. If you have an existing relevant policy, frequently it is simply a matter of citing this to an individual or group and informing them of your policy. This is not a matter of hiding behind your policy. It is a matter of proper utilization of policy.

E. Do judicial precedents, federal or state laws, or state administrative regulations relate to or subsume the issue?

Here we ought to institute some refresher courses in federal and state law. Judicial precedents, federal and state laws, or state administrative regulations change by the day. Some administrators delay on a problem when the answer is clearly written into the state law or into existing administrative regulations. For example, at a board meeting which I attended recently a teacher representative of a duly elected negotiating body stood and asked to be recognized. Present Wisconsin law notwithstanding, the board refused to recognize the person, because they did not want to. You should have been at the next meeting!

F. In the presumed absence of local policies regarding an issue, to what extent has a clear presentation been made of precedent actions?

This is clearly what Mr. Zeiler means when he says they went back through the minutes, catalogued, categorized, noted inconsistencies, and tried to straighten them out. This can be done without a committee and can be done, as he indicated, by a superintendent with a good typist.

Stage I relates to assessing the terrain. It may sound a bit ironical to admonish board members and administrators not to act hastily when so often they are chided for delaying until they hope the problem will go away. However, premature decisions cause inappropriate actions coming from failure to re-examine precedent actions, state laws, existing policies, or from placing a problem in the wrong category and particularly in not bringing the board with you on your actions. Stage I is simply looking at the problem, seeing where it fits, and seeing if existing solutions will help.

STAGE II—INPUT JUDGMENTS

Assuming that existing solutions are not applicable to the problem at hand, we arrive at some *input judgments.* Up to the input judgment stage the responsibility is primarily with the administrator. The board must be kept informed and appraised of events, but until Stage II, it is mostly the administrator's responsibility. Having been appraised of the current state of affairs, the board of education must decide or must delegate to the superintendent the power to act in order to cope with the issues or problems that have been identified in Stage I.

This *close scrutiny of possible actions and procedures is termed input judgment.* During Stage II answers to questions such as the following must be decided:

A. Who should work on resolving the issues?

In working with several school systems in the major cities in the country on some research problems and in watching their administrative cabinets, councils, and work-groups in operation, some rather startling things occurred which deviated significantly from the advisory-administrative council diagram discussed in Chapter Four. In some of these larger cities the functions of many of the structured mechanisms were deliberately co-opted by a different work group when the school district was faced with a policy matter. What is being said here is that the *issue at stake* must set the bounds for deciding who is most vitally interested, most concerned, most able, most willing, most available to work on an issue, and these persons may not always be found in the formally structured group.

In fact, one school superintendent with fairly long tenure in a large city called rather infrequent meetings of formally structured groups when he was faced with a policy issue. He tended to call in persons who were immediately subordinate to the formal group and used them as his work group. This is not to disparage the administrative council, but is simply to say that such councils can be a trap.

When one looks at the broad range of policy issues not covered by any formally structured mechanism, it becomes clear that a single workable mechanism cannot be prescribed. When applied to a particular district, the recommended mechanism may not work because of the idiosyncratic nature of the persons on a particular staff.

Who shall work on resolving an issue? At this juncture the board in consultation with its superintendent should decide and should be kept informed by the party or parties so appointed, or the superintendent must appoint some committees and then must give an immediate accounting to the board of these appointments and their progress.

B. What resources in terms of time, personnel, equipment, and consultants are needed?

We often give time for teachers to work on curriculum matters during school hours. How often is this done for work groups on policy? Here some inputs are required, and these inputs have to be required of persons other than the school superintendent.

C. What similar policies of other districts may be of value?

I have very little truck with school personnel who feel that everything that is good must originate within their own district. This even holds for curriculum. Why should one struggle with the wording of a phrase if the resources that are available from other districts that have dealt with a similar problem can be utilized? To start from scratch each time is a terrific waste of manpower.

D. Who will provide the leadership to the work group?

The superintendent, obviously, cannot do this each time. The board should sanction (since the board usually acts as a sanctioning body) this decision so that from the outset some lines of responsibility on policy work are quite clear.

E. How often, where, and when will the sessions be scheduled?

It has already been indicated that too often these meetings are scheduled after school and taken out of disinterested staff members' own time.

F. What procedures will be followed for progress reporting?

We get into trouble from the outset if policy work groups think they have co-opted the power to act of the superintendent, the board, and everyone else. These groups should simply be instructed at the outset that we are only asking their recommendations and advice, that the policy decision function rests with the board on the recommendation of the superintendent, and that only a report of recommended policies is expected.

STAGE III—PROCESS MONITORING

Stage III is specifically related to the topic of "How Do Policies Get Made?" Having made decisions on input, one might (and is often tempted to) wait until the final policy statements have evolved and then pass judgment on the product. *Continuous feedback of information to the board regarding progress*, or lack of it, by policy-formulating groups may be referred to as *process evaluation*. Most of us are much more adept at evaluating products than we are at evaluating process. The evaluation of process is a tough, time-consuming job. For example, student achievement scores can be compared, but what about the learning process by which students reach these achievement scores? We are not so adept in examining process. Involved in this stage are the following questions:

A. How well are scheduled deadlines being met and should target dates be altered?

B. What barriers to progress are being encountered?

C. Should working groups be restructured?

D. Should additional resources be allocated?

E. Can the working group evaluate its own preliminary drafts of policy statements?

Herein the policy recommenders can provide their judgment, but they cannot provide an unbiased evaluation of their own policy statement. The recommendations should be subject to review both by the superintendent, as a prior step, and, finally, by the board, but workgroups are done an injustice when asked to pass judgment on the merits of their own work. If the policy writers did not think that it was the best job they could turn out, they would not be turning it out—unless these groups are engaged in a game of second guessing.

F. Are preliminary drafts of policy submitted for total board review?

This is almost rhetorical, because I think they should be, even though it is a time consuming process for the total board.

STAGE IV—PRODUCT EVALUATION

Finally, of course, the policies are presented to the board, and adopted with the resulting *evaluation of the policy as a product*. We now have something in our hands to look at. The following familiar questions must then be raised and answers sought:

A. To what extent is the resulting policy clearly written and "implementable" in keeping with:

1. Operational philosophies?

Here the board and the superintendent should remember to keep the policy statement as brief as possible and to provide for flexibility.

2. Operational limitations, such as financial and personnel resources?

B. Does the policy shift the emphasis from individualistic, personalistic, idiosyncractic concerns to institutional and normative role concerns?

Why do we have policies anyway? Policies are to keep us from behaving capriciously or differently toward different persons in similar situations. For example, if we have a policy which says that all teachers should report to school at 8:00 A.M. and one teacher reports consistently at 8:15 A.M., she is not called in and told, "Miss Jones, you are a poor teacher. You are always late." Here, the implication is, "I really don't like you." This is the personalistic sort-of approach.

The alternative approach is, "Miss Jones, our policy is that teachers report to work at 8:00 A.M., and you have been violating our policy." This approach gets away from the idiosyncratic; it centers on the normative expectations through which organizations can operate effectively.

C. To what extent does implementation of the policy improve the functioning of the organization?

Some policies, indeed, may not. Hence, the revision process may need to be started immediately.

D. To what extent does a policy "rigidify" or "stultify" organizational change?

For example, one school board in Wisconsin inquired as follows: "Dear Jim, please send us credentials on applicants for the position of superintendent of schools. We want a real educational leader (implying someone who would move and change) who will not disrupt our already excellent school system."

The open door policy for the vocal person who feels cramped about existing policy is very important in order to prevent policies from stifling individual initiative and imagination. In these interpersonal relationships mutual trust and confidence are important.

E. To what extent is provision made for periodic policy review prior to a "crisis" issue?

Again, there are no guidelines except that it probably would be better if this review were done at least a chapter at a time rather than a book at a time.

F. What procedures will be attempted to increase commitment to the policy?

This means acting in accordance with the policy so long as you have it. In addition, there is the matter of communication of policy. In one study we did, we asked teachers questions about who made certain decisions. We found a gross ignorance of policy by teachers. How can persons be committed to a policy if they do not know it exists?

We have assumed that if we involve teachers or groups in policy formulation, this will increase their commitment. That is a dangerous assumption. For example, teachers who work in curriculum groups find sometimes that their commitment to the decisions of the group are lessened by their participation. Teachers may begin enthusiastically in curriculum work in chemistry but may come out of a policy work group dreading any statements evolving from the work group. The key is not *total* participation, but *appropriate* participation.

To summarize, in developing school policies, we have tended to slight or ignore the *context assessment* and the *process monitoring* stages and have tended to overemphasize the *input judgment* and the *product evaluation* stages. Regarding context assessment, it seems painfully true that boards of education, typically, engage in policy review only when faced with a crisis situation. It would seem more productive to develop a plan for systematic policy review perhaps by task area, by year: that is, giving attention this year to staff personnel policies; next year, to pupil personnel policies; and so on. The schedule for such systematic policy development might well be determined by the frequency with which specific policy issues recur.

I also wish to reiterate that it seems that operational difficulties frequently arise from subsuming problems under inappropriate categories. This may happen because professional educators, such as administrators, view the organization in terms of a different set. To restate, in policy development greater attention should be given to assessment of the *context* of issues.

With reference to *process monitoring,* the temptation has been to evaluate the *products,* that is, the written statements of policy rather than to examine the manner in which the policies were derived. Thus, the emphasis has been upon indexing, coding, duplicating, and distributing beautiful volumes. Yet research to date reveals that it is not the beauty of the policy book, but the involvement of affected parties in the development of policy content that makes a difference as to whether or not the policies are understood, accepted, and utilized as guides in decision-making.

QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR

Q. This may be a facetious question, but as long as a school board is in operation, does the policy book always get longer?

A. Yes, I think it would possibly be so. However, a colleague of mine in Ohio sent me some copies of their policy revisions, and I think each issue of this policy book is *progressively shorter.* This may come about through low turnover in that system with everybody understanding so that a lot of the details can be dropped. Another way it might become shorter is that policy is extracted from board minutes. I presume such extraction would be shorter than all the minutes.

Q. In our particular situation we operated in a quasi-vacuum for five or six years on some policies that were written a long time ago. We have had a working committee revising them almost continuously, but the time element (which has so often been alluded to here) could not be more aptly illustrated than by our situation. Meantime, we have had periodical issues with the staff relative to the existing doctrine which has become progressively obsolete. We are now faced with the prospect of making a rather enormous effort to familiarize the staff with the greatly expanded volume. Do you have any suggestions as to a real workable technique to get this out where it can be reacted to and perhaps revised a little if there are some bad errors in it?

DR. LIPHAM. There seems to be a point of diminishing return when looking at some of the policy books of the larger cities. It is sort of like buying a set of encyclopedias for your youngster when he is a year old, and you get the annual yearbook or supplement. It gets entirely unwieldy. Maybe this is the time when deviation from the chapter-each-year approach has to be abandoned.

I know of one district in Illinois that is faced with this problem, not because of reorganization, but because they decided to set up simultaneous work groups. They are dealing with pupil-personnel policies, staff-personnel policies, and business procedures, all at the same time. Their entire in-service program for administrators, teachers, and non-certificated staff is organized around policy revision.

Q. Relative to your last point, when we adopt a policy, we anticipate some outcomes. Having adopted a certain policy, we assume that certain kinds of things are going to happen. Sometimes some quite different kinds of things happen—some unanticipated or opposite kinds of things. Would you comment?

DR. LIPHAM. An Illinois school district with which I am familiar had a policy of requiring teachers to attend certain district in-service activities in order to accumulate credits (enough for salary increments) as part of their in-service program. The policy book said that teachers should get certain university credit or should attend a district sponsored in-service activity once a month. This was the case of a good policy, a defensible policy, with all good intent to improve the on-the-job performance of these teachers. Yet, in this instance, it was not specific as to which meetings, whether they had to be the same meetings, or how long the meetings would be held.

The unanticipated outcome here was that a small, vocal, and somewhat unprofessional group simply structured a work group which met once a month for five minutes after school and thereby met the criteria. Because of such unprofessional conduct, here is a case of a clearly unanticipated outcome which had to be dealt with administratively in terms of beefing up the policy by going into all of the specifics and details of such in-service meetings or in terms of increasing commitment to the policy. Unfortunately, the course of action taken in this particular district was the first one, because it was believed to be the easier approach. It is always the unanticipated outcome which has to be reviewed. I think that is one reason why we have to change policies as often as we do.

Q. Are there different levels at which different policy decisions are made? In other words, does the administrator make the rules and regulations perhaps based on policy, or does the board concern itself with the different levels of policy decision-making? I am wondering whether or not there is a difference between stated policy and the enforcement of the rules and regulations. Some theoreticians have found this distinction useful.

DR. LIPHAM. The only issue I take is the assumption here that only the board is concerned with overall policy. I think the administrator and the board together have to be concerned about overall policy. There is no convenient way to separate these things. I just take issue with the fact that "the board makes policy, and the superintendent then makes the rules and regulations." I do not think that it can go forward this way in terms of all we know about superintendents and board members and all that they have to do. I think you can divide them in terms of levels of generality, but I think the board and the administrator are active partners—in making both policies and regulations.

CLINIC III

THE SCHOOL BOARD AND OTHER GOVERNMENTAL UNITS

8

A School Board Member's View of Intergovernmental Relations

TED HOLTHUSEN

Ted Holthusen, sales training manager for Sentry Insurance Company, Stevens Point, Wisconsin, and present board member of the Cooperative Educational Services Agency, District Seven, Stevens Point, Wisconsin, has long been connected with the governence of public schools. For fourteen years Mr. Holthusen was a member of the Stevens Point School Board. He is a past president of the Wisconsin Association of School Boards, and is a past Director of the National School Board Association. His viewpoints as a concerned and participating citizen in the affairs of the public schools are particularily appropriate.

THE ROLE of the school board is becoming more confusing and more frustrating. Much of this confusion and frustration has developed within a relatively few years and comes about as the result of reorganization, consolidation, the increasing number of agencies with whom school boards must deal, and federal intervention in our school program. It is evident that school boards are losing much control and assuming more restricted roles than they have had in the past. School boards have neither the authority nor the power they once had.

In my opinion many present school board problems center around three levels: 1) school boards and local governments, 2) school boards and state agencies, and 3) school boards and the federal government.

SCHOOL BOARD RELATIONS WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS

Historically, the city school board as a department of the city, dealt only with the city council. Then came reorganization and consolidation. The school board now has to influence town chairmen, village chairmen, as well as the city council in order to obtain the funds needed for building and/or operating expenses. Often these budgetary decisions are made by a system of weighted votes. In joint city school districts there is one vote for each $200,000 of equalized valuation. As a result, in my school district, one man has 101 votes or one-seventh of all the votes in the district. He can outvote three of our city councilmen.

There are a number of other issues (such as crossing-walk guards, school site location zoning, bonding, negotiations, etc.) which can cause real problems and much confusion for joint school districts. Does the city, or the school district pay for these guards? Usually the city has the zoning power, and when a school is to be built in a city, the city government decides where the school is to be built. Long-range planning and coordinating employee salary and benefit policies can also cause problems. Often the people outside the city do not think the same as the people in the city.

Here is a problem of the aforementioned joint school district. When a joint city school district purchases school property, the entire district pays for it. When the purchased property is no longer needed for school purposes, it reverts to the city, not to the joint district. Does this make sense? The people outside of the city apparently are getting the short end of the bargain.

One of the causes of these problems is that local governments have not adapted to "government by areas" as has the school. If local government was by area, similar to school district government, it would be much easier to attack these matters.

STATE AGENCY RELATIONS

Several other questions arise when we turn to the school board's relationships with state agencies. After discussing this proposition with a number of school board presidents and a number of school district administrators, I find that these people usually feel that the State Department of Public Instruction is doing a fine job with what they have to work with.

Now come new agencies such as the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board which decides for school boards what they can and shall negotiate with school board employees. This may cause conflict with other laws. The school board decides on a calendar, and if teachers dispute this decision, the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board says the matter must be negotiated. Again, school boards are losing their power.

If the school board decides upon a building designed by an architect and if a problem develops whether an innovation in design will meet building codes (both local and state), the State Industrial Commission tells school boards what to do, often leaving them no choice. The Industrial Commission also tells school boards what they must use as a minimum wage for the people constructing the building.

Local school boards are required to deal with what appears to be too many agencies. For example, school boards must now deal with the Department of Public Instruction, the State Vocational Board, the Welfare Department, the Department of Health, the Motor Vehicle Department, the Industrial Commission and the Employment Relations Board. These are only a few of the agencies with which school boards have to deal. Many more such examples could be listed. How can the number of these agencies be reduced, or at least school board contacts with them reduced?

In mentioning the Industrial Commission concerning minimum wages and building codes for new and old buildings, the problem perhaps should be restated. If a new building is to be built, the building codes must be observed to the letter. But what is the situation with the rennovation of older buildings? The Industrial Commission has not kept up to date concerning codes for old buildings. Are not the children in these old buildings just as important as the children in the new buildings? The older buildings should have the same safety features, the same safety measures as those required in new buildings.

The Wisconsin Association of School Boards has gone on record asking that a study be made to revamp and revise the Industrial Commission codes for our older buildings. Of course such a move well may result in increased remodeling costs. We should remember, however, that when these old buildings are brought up to standards, it is being done for the children, not for the contractors.

What is the future of the Cooperative Educational Services Agency in Wisconsin? What is their authority? Agency Seven, for example, has been operating slightly over a year. Naturally, in any new enterprise such as this, there are difficulties to be ironed out, and questions which need answering. Fortunately, there have been no weighty problems in Area Seven up to this time. Recently, however, three and four schools at a time, who either do or do not want to consolidate, are presenting Cooperative Educational Services Agencies with serious problems.

Currently, there is a consolidation problem involving four small schools. Combined, these four schools would produce a high school of approximately 800 pupils. Each of these towns is one hundred percent in favor of consolidation—if the new school will be built in their town. Usually people realize and recognize that curriculum improvements and physical plant improvements are good, but no small town wants to give up its own high school.

Now the question is, "What is the Cooperative Educational Services Agency able to do?" These four small towns probably are not going to come to an agreement. Eventually one of them will decide to put up a new high school of its own. There is nothing to prevent this, and when that happens, the problem will become much more complicated. There should be some direction from the agency director and from the State Department on just how far this consolidation will proceed, and whether or not it is going to be accelerated.

We have another situation in the towns of Weyauwega and Waupaca, Wisconsin, which illustrates my point. They are doing their best to get together and come to an agreement on a school half-way between these two towns. There are some problems. Hopefully, it will end with these schools resolving their own problems. That is the way we would like to see these matters handled, but in many cases it will not be that easy.

It is felt by many that the State Department of Public Instruction should be in a position to offer more help in evaluating certain programs in the elementary schools. Such evaluation might include team-teaching, flexible classrooms, teaching machines, teacher aids, modular schedules, and elementary guidance programs. It is recognized that the State Department is doing its utmost to help local school districts, but the department is undermanned. They do not have the personnel to give all of the assistance that school districts want without undue delay. Every effort should be made on the part of school board members to encourage, through the Wisconsin Association of School Boards or other organizations, an increase of personnel in the State Department so that they can provide the services to which school districts and pupils are entitled.

FEDERAL "PARTNERSHIP" WITH SCHOOL DISTRICTS

We turn now to the matter of federal relationships. In describing these relationships, the word 'partnership' recurs with increasing frequency. Just what is the 'partnership' between local, state, and federal government? Perhaps 'partnership' to describe federal-local school relationships is a misnomer.

It appears that the federal government is doing things without adequate consultation with local governments. For example, is the federal aid program developed by school-oriented people or by political scientists?

It almost appears that the federal government is accomplishing the things that *they* want by offering financial aids to projects which accomplish *their* goals. Such is the case in the National Defense Education Act. When the federal government wants something, and they attempt to dictate the directions of educational innovation, they merely provide federal aids, and everybody runs to grab it. Whether it is vital to their particular program or not, school boards say, "The money is there, we have a share in it, and we are going to get it." This frantic grabbing of federal aids by school boards and districts is reprehensible.

Another issue that should be of concern to all school boards is the federal government's attitude toward new aid programs. Where is this money coming from? Very likely, Congress will take it away from something else, such as the school lunch program. School districts could end up paying the full bill for these other aspects of the program, and they are not in a position to do so. Schools probably could not drop these programs after they have been in effect for several years. The independent decisions of the federal government on goals for American education do not seem to be cleared with state and local governments.

Other problems of concern to most school boards relate to Title I programs. These programs must be developed locally, cleared with community action programs, approved by the state, and then granted by the federal government. What is the result? Schools initiate the programs, but no money is forthcoming. The money is six to eight months behind. The school district fiscal year does not coincide with the federal fiscal year. The National School Boards Association is making a strong issue of this in asking that the situation be re-studied so that the federal money is there when needed. These monies must be available when the school year begins, or school boards are in trouble.

Another question revolves about the present status of federal aid for school construction. You hear and read about it frequently. I seriously question the advantages. Are we going to have federal aid for school construction? If so, who gets the money? What criteria will be used for its allocation? Is the government going to establish controls to the extent that school boards will have to erect prototype buildings and do exactly as the federal "partner" tells us to do, when to do it, and how to do it? If they are, most school boards probably will not cooperate.

PUBLIC, PRIVATE, AND VOCATIONAL SCHOOL PROGRAMS

What is the anticipated future of integrated public and private school programs? This is a "hot" issue. Are we talking about this problem and considering the implications? We need more discussion even though it is questionable whether anyone today has the final answer.

The things that seems to be most disconcerting to local school boards and administrators are the uncertainties surrounding utilizing public funds for non-public education purposes. It is doubtful whether anyone today can give clear-cut answers to this problem.

There are also questions concerning vocational education in the public schools. What is the future role of the federal government in extending aid for increased vocational programs? It probably would be desirable for the federal government to extend aids for improving vocational instructional programs, if they give the money to the states, and let the states and the local governments determine how to spend it. The federal government should keep its fingers off local schools. The federal government should allocate monies to Wisconsin, and then allow the State Department to work with the local school boards in deciding how it is to be spent.

We could raise many more questions concerning local, state, federal, and public and private school relationships, most of which cannot be answered adequately at this time. These problems presented merely illustrate the kinds of problems boards must be concerned with and must keep thinking about.

Prevailing Problems in School District Operation

ARCHIE A. BUCHMILLER

Archie Buchmiller, Deputy Superintendent, State of Wisconsin, Department of Public Instruction, previously was a school district superintendent for seventeen years. Coupled with this past experience as school superintendent, his current position affords an excellent overview of the problems and the concerns generated by the increasing federal and state roles and influences in the conduct of public school programs.

MR. HOLTHUSEN has laid out many problems, and you will be looking for some of the answers from me. I do not have the answers—only more questions, but perhaps the issues appear different to a member of the State Department of Public Instruction than they do to school board members.

In the last two years, I have formed some impressions about the prevailing concerns of school boards across the United States. I will try to reflect what I think are the four or five major issues that state department people see as they view education within the states.

One of the issues is the importance of providing adequate financial support for public elementary and secondary education. This is one of our real problems in the years ahead.

The second problem is to provide an equal and adequate education for all of our children.

The third problem is the re-orientation of our traditional state, local, and federal roles in the light of renewed and vigorous federal interests.

Four, how are we going to make effective use of technology, innovation, and change in our educational programs?

Five, what about this business of political action in education? Where are we? Are we in the ballpark, or are we not?

PROVIDING ADEQUATE FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR EDUCATION

We all recognize that since World War II education has been affected by the whims of social change, by a changing technology, and by a response to the educational expectations of the public which grow day by day.

At the same time school boards are facing increased costs in operating their programs. Only a few years ago, for example, we could have looked at operational costs of school districts in Wisconsin and said that, plus or minus a decimal point, an annual six percent increase for operating expenses was normal. This six percent annual rate of increase ended in 1965. In 1966 we will have an average cost increase of something like nine percent when the final figures are in. With the professional negotiations process, this year we will be looking at a ten or eleven percent increase in operating costs in 1967. Obviously, school districts are facing the pressure of increased costs.

Demands are being made upon public schools that might not have been expected fifteen or twenty years ago, or maybe not even five years ago. In view of these demands and in view of the pressure of financial burdens in all of our programs, school districts and the states are being forced into a competitive situation for tax monies. Additional financial resources will be needed to carry out school programs. The day is past when the troika of motherhood, God, and education can remain invulnerable. Education is going to be vulnerable, and school boards are going to be vulnerable.

There are several increased pressures for such things as the pre-school program, disadvantaged education, innovation, higher education, adult training, and retraining. These are all educational issues, but they do not represent the sum total of social grievances schools are asked to redress today.

School boards are asked also to look at some of our national concerns in crime, air pollution, and public health. All of these issues have strong overtones for our schools and our educational programs. These over-riding and interdependent concerns are forcing many of us to re-examine the pockets of insulation, isolation, and provincialism we have occupied in the past. We must ask ourselves the question: were our past schools adequate, and will they be adequate in the future? Obviously, some people are answering, no.

As the financial implications of these burdens are examined, it becomes apparent that the time when school finance, or the strategy of school finance, merely attempts a budget which minimizes as much as possible the costs of our educational program, has been forever buried in the past.

Today there is a changed philosophy operating. This philosophy seems to be evident in the priority of education in our economic and social system. Education is now more clearly seen as a longe-range, economic asset necessary for continued, healthy economic growth and development. It is a delayed investment, but one that produces benefits. Consequently, people other than those directly associated with education are looking at the public school more critically.

The United States Office of Education has said (and probably conservatively) that by 1970 the average annual cost of education per pupil in the nation will be $720.00. This would mean an approximate forty percent increase in our costs in Wisconsin if we meet the national average. Many people are convinced that local property taxes are already at saturation levels and will not be able to bear the brunt of this increased burden.

There are two remaining tax sources: federal aid and state aid. We increasingly hear that state services are also more in demand than is the supply of state tax dollars. If the position that local and state saturation is real, then the only alternative to achieve adequate public school financing and revenues is to turn to the federal government whose tax revenues better reflect the rising economy of the nation as a whole.

When we examine the increased reliance of the local district upon receiving state and federal funds, there are only two choices: taking federal aid or raising local property tax levels. Increased expenditure requirements of local municipal government are likely to generate pressure for local property tax increases, and this may result in a greater shift to reliance upon federal sources for school funds. If school boards take the federal aid, they may have to give up some of their fiscal autonomy. Regardless of what the path may be in the future, financing public elementary and secondary education is the most immediate, pressing problem faced by school boards.

PROVIDING AN EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

There are few who would not say that the social and technological changes which have developed and are developing in our society carry vast new implications for our schools. We have changed from a rural to an urban society. Today approximately seventy percent of our population lives in and around the larger cities. In industry the technological revolution promises to bring us new levels of prosperity. An economist from a federal agency said recently that by 1980, if we really applied all of our technology to production, about three percent of the work force could produce all of the goods that we need in this country.

On all fronts we see a vast explosion of knowledge taking place, the like of which we have never before experienced. This body of knowledge doubles and re-doubles in something under ten year cycles today. How much can we rely upon the old educational methods to place this knowledge into the minds of young men and women so they can best utilize it?

This changing complex will create new problems which will threaten the traditional role of school boards and the concepts of equality of educational opportunity. For example, in agriculture, business, industry, and defense today, automation sharply diminishes the need for the unskilled labor force. At the present time the unskilled labor force in the United States comprises only six percent of the total. Yet in the United States, today, between fifteen and twenty percent of the population has not yet acquired the skills to qualify for jobs which now go begging.

Educators and school boards have worked diligently, in Wisconsin and in the nation, so that ninety-five percent of our children have been reached by our educational efforts. We do not yet have the total means for reaching all of the children whose backgrounds have given them little or no basis to use the school in becoming productive citizens. This is the challenge public schools will have to face.

Automation and technology are going to require the constant upgrading of skills of the working force to assure that we avoid unemployability. We must serve those whose jobs are automated out of existence. We must retrain those whose jobs will be eliminated. There seems little alternative. We must provide for an adequate high school, post-high school, vocational system, and/or technical system which will provide youth with the employment skills they need, and we must retrain many adults in the current labor force.

Not too many years ago one of the primary concerns of education was to bring equality of educational opportunities to youth in sparsely populated areas. Today we have achieved some equalities there, but we have a new problem on the horizon. This problem (the population concentration with the concurrent decay of the central city in our larger population centers) presents us with a new set of circumstances to which we must find solutions. Education in our urban and metropolitan centers may well require far more refined approaches to curriculum and instruction than we have had in the past.

We need to examine the organization of our schools in terms of learning theory and motivation. Greater and greater attention will have to be focused upon the problem of learning rather than upon adapting the organization of the schools for the purposes of administration.

It is a fair accusation to say that some public school organizational patterns lend themselves more to efficient administration than they do to effective learning. These implications concern not only the internal organization of the school but, also, the very nature of the schools that we will need in the future. What should be the size of those schools, and what capacities do they need to provide and mobilize whatever resources are necessary to bring educational opportunity to all children in a changing, technological world?

RECASTING TRADITIONAL STATE, LOCAL, AND FEDERAL ROLES

The Elementary-Secondary Act represents the entry of the federal government into local school affairs in probably the most direct way yet. This federal interest in reality is seeking the solution of grave national concerns and issues.

More and more we see our communities and our schools being affected by the inter-dependence of all of our communities. We are not isolated and pocketed any more. The entry of the federal government probably signifies and testifies to some lapsing educational responsibility by some local boards of education and state agencies. Charges have been leveled that public schools have not and are not fulfilling the responsibilities which have been given to them.

The shock waves of the Elementary-Secondary Act stirred a few ripples in local educational agencies and in the state departments of education. At the very least it precipitated them into an agonized state of alertness. It was accompanied by a good bit of indignation and some cries that the federal government was encroaching some traditional local roles. In part, entry into local school district affairs has been due to the fact that local school districts have not been educating all children as well as they can, and as well as they must.

Public schools and school boards have been characterized (and I have heard this over and over again from business, from the federal communications media, and from news media) as part of an educational "establishment" which is interested only in sustaining and maintaining the status quo. It is also said that in a time of rapid national change it is prerequisite that the state and local agencies not only be able to sustain and maintain but also be able to institute changes. Their failing to meet these demands requires the entry of the federal government.

The immediate issue facing local school boards today in this area is: *How can we make ourselves viable, adaptable agencies which can effectively stand shoulder to shoulder with the federal partner and speak with a clear voice?*

TECHNOLOGY, INNOVATION AND CHANGE

Last fall, in Salt Lake City, I was previleged to participate in a three-day conference dealing with education for the 1980's. Dr. John Goodlad of the University of California at Los Angeles made a particularly stimulating contribution. He commented in respect to innovation, change, and technology, as follows:

> Until we bring this process down to a single school, and let this process permeate that school's daily goals and the means for attaining them, we will not make very much impact on education as far as change and innovation are concerned. Right now, these things are only adjuncts to the programs we are running. We are playing with these things. We put in a little dab here and a little dab there, and we get our publicity, and we say, "Gee, look what we are doing!" The iceberg of past tradition that remains unseen is unaffected.

Someone also remarked some time ago that we are on the threshhold of a new space age, and we do not recognize that we already possess a bag of tools which can be used to improve education. There may be some truth to that, because apparently some of our fine national defense education equipment is teaching the shells rather than boys and girls. Consciously, or unconsciously, we all expect that somebody is going to make a big breakthrough which will improve education, and that we will be able to use it. But most of us do little more than tamper with education. Our reluctance to make a serious commitment to experimentation and innovation has again brought the influence of the federal government to the local scene.

Research and change cost money, a commitment which we have not been willing to make locally or at the state level. The State Department of Public Instruction of Wisconsin, for example, could not get a single cent from the state legislature for research and innovation. We had to rely on the federal government. Finally, under Title V, we received $100,000 which is just $100,000 more than Wisconsin was spending on educational research two years ago.

Another thing is happening in the area of technology and innovation which is rather interesting. I saw a bit of the honeymooning going on, and last year I began to see the marriage take place. It is a nice marriage, and I hope it will be a productive one. It is the marriage of electronics and business to the publishing industry. Now this marriage did not occur (and the offspring from it will not be conceived) just because the parties were interested paternalistically in education. They are there, because they see a market. They are there, because they have been invited. Perhaps our textbook people will see themselves at some handicap in this marriage of hardware and curriculum.

Local school systems ought to take a look at the possibilities of this marriage. School systems should decide for themselves whether they will sit back passively and wait for what comes to them as users and consumers, or whether they will work with that combine in the development of appropriate kinds of hardware, software, and curriculum.

The explosion of knowledge, our quests for quality and equality, and a changing curriculum makes it imperative that school boards back our teachers with every possible technological aid which will help children learn effectively. We are using little more than a sling-shot at a time when we need some cannon in our educational arsenals. Experimentation must become part and parcel of our efforts as we start to upgrade our educational programs.

When we deal with the change process itself, there is risk. Board members and administrators run the risk of failure. We ought to recognize, however, that as we offer new subjects and new curriculum to our boys and girls we teach them to constructively handle the process of change. We teach them something that the curriculum does not now include in most schools. Change is something today's children are going to have to face throughout their lives. Many authorities are saying that the average person now entering his productive work-life is probably going to retrain himself from three to six times before retirement. This child, this young man or woman, is going to face change. He has got to learn how to live with that inevitable change and handle it constructively.

POLITICAL ACTION IN EDUCATION

We in education have been living in a never-never world by not facing up to the realities of circumstances. Educators have long used the old shibboleth that education is immune to political action. The realities of the situation are exactly opposite. Education has never been immune from political action, because politics, as we define it, is the fashioning of coalitions of influence in an attempt to determine what values will be implemented by government whether it be at the local, state or federal level.

Public education in the United States has always been supported by all three levels of government and has always achieved part of its success through the political-action arena. Today, if state and local support of education is continued and expanded, it will be because educators choose to become politically active and choose to use the political-action course in our decision-making processes. Our effectiveness to a large degree at state and local levels will depend upon how effectively we, as schoolmen, can marshall political power to achieve educational ends.

For generations we have bathed education in an anti-political atmosphere. We have cultivated the proposition that schools should be kept out of politics. This proposition is one of the most fascinating political myths in our American history of education. Purposely educators have designed their politics to achieve low visability. In today's competitive climate, invisible politics are rarely good or effective politics.

Today, it is not uncommon for many people to consider that the schools are an agent of national life, a prime source of strength in our worldwide battle with the Soviets, the underpinning of our economic system, and in short, a national resource. In this type of climate it is not surprising to find our schools beginning to strive for some kind of collaborative endeavor and some kind of coalition of power. The trend toward cooperative action is unmistakable. We see the semblances of these coalitions developing in the Compact for Education, in the Society for the Support of Public Schools, and in the statewide education steering committees which are forming. These are just a few examples.

We are beginning to marshall our power, but frequently in the past we have made ourselves very easy to oppose. Probably the most common handicap in many states is the inability of schoolmen to work together and to speak as one voice for responsible legislation. Most of the time, in most of the states, disorder and a sense of naivete is the schoolman's outstanding political contribution.

All of us can rationally understand that the kind of education we are talking about for boys and girls in the future will not be accomplished in a high school of forty pupils. Yet, we hear in the halls of the legislature a school administrator testify that "This little school does as good a job as that neighbor brother of mine who has four or six hundred pupils. In fact, when they fail their kids in the big school, these kids have to come over to our school where they can succeed." It is not certain that he has said very much when he has made that point. We often divide ourselves, and as a result schoolmen lose considerable political effectiveness.

Educational history and progress have always been written in the halls of our state legislatures and in the Congress. An effective coalition brings together the political leader and the educational expert working jointly to achieve public educational policies through legislation. If that premise cannot be accepted, then it is difficult to accept our democratic form of government. Those who would argue today that education and politics must be kept separate ignore the history of the past and the realities of the day. The successes of the schoolmen in the past, and in the future, will be directly related to their political sophistication and understanding of proper uses of the political instrument.

A Day of Change in School Government

ROALD F. CAMPBELL

Dr. Roald F. Campbell, Dean of the Graduate School of Education, University of Chicago, is a nationally known spokesman on educational issues. He has been a teacher, principal, superintendent of schools, and is a former director of the Midwest Administration Center. His extensive service and numerous publications provide an exceptional background for his remarks on public school governance.

MR. HOLTHUSEN and Mr. Buchmiller have raised some very good questions in their discussions of the school boards' relationships to other governmental units. It is obvious that I shall not be able to answer them. I shall attempt only to analyze some of them. Let us review the history of these relationships in terms of the folklore and in terms of the realities.

FOLKLORE AND FACT IN THE GOVERNANCE OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The folklore runs that we have operated education in this country within a framework of state law. We have had state departments of education, but they have not interferred much with local school districts. We have had some federal aid, but the federal government never tried to control us. We have had local control: the school boards made the policy, and the administrators administered it. That is the folklore.

The history of the public school has never been quite like that. A brief look at the realities of the past will illustrate a few discrepancies from the folklore. We have had a framework of state law or to state it more precisely, fifty frameworks, but the content of these state laws has not always been profound. Some of our state statutes on education deal with Arbor Day, Flag Day, and things of this nature. As one reads these statutes he is not always deeply impressed.

State departments of education have been relatively weak in this country. Wisconsin has been fortunate to have had a better state department of education than most other states. There has been some federal aid, but the federal departments were concerned chiefly with the collection of statistics which few people used or paid attention to.

While the local school board was legally charged with operating the schools, the board actually asked the superintendent what to do most of the time. During most meetings the board turned to the superintendent and said, "What do you recommend?" If he did not have good recommendations, they probably fired him after awhile, and got a superintendent who did.

Even in the past, teachers have had considerable autonomy in the practice of their profession. When a teacher went into the classroom and closed the door, there were few outside controls operating. There has been a great deal of teacher autonomy.

Taxpayers, both locally and at the state level, have not always agreed with school boards and have sometimes conducted campaigns to defeat school tax levies and bond issues. In most districts there have been super patriots who wanted their brand of Americanism taught, but in reality, textbook writers have determined much of the curriculum. In many of our districts upward-mobile parents have wanted their children to get into the prestige colleges and have objected if the school program did not permit it. In most of our districts, we have had reluctant learners, children for whom school did not seem to have much relevance.

In recent decades we have had national curriculum-makers; the new science, the new physics, the new mathematics, the new biology, and the new chemistry. We have had national test-makers, operating since 1900, but becoming much more important since 1947. We have had accrediting associations (and public schools like to be on the approved list of the accrediting associations). We have also had organizations of teachers. While it is true that teacher organizations have changed in recent years, we have had them for a long time. *The end result is that school administration and school government have never been as simple as sometimes described.*

Through all this, schoolmen became rather comfortable and regularized their operations. They understood what the other fellow was doing. Some people have even said that if schoolmen were astute, dissidents could be kept off the board of education, and state departments of education could be kept weak so that they would not interfere in local educational affairs. If schoolmen tried hard, they might isolate those parents who were a nuisance or even patronize the teachers a bit. Some of the legislators might be controled to do the bidding of the school boards, and accrediting associations might even be mollified a bit. Public schoolmen might even influence many schools of education in the universities. These alliances and allegiances, largely influenced by schoolmen, are what some people have called "the establishment."

TODAY'S NEW FORCES IN PUBLIC SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

The public schools are now in the mainstream of American life, and Americans are no longer quite as cozy as they once were. It was all right to go about our educational business and have our own way when it made little difference to most people, but in 1957 came Sputnik, and the schools got the blame. Perhaps the schools should not have received the blame, but they did. The American public became aroused, or at least their interest in public education increased, and this has created some new forces which impinge rather sharply upon our decision-making processes.

We have also had growing bodies of knowledge which brought national curriculum programs into being. It was found that high school biology teachers, for instance, were teaching biology that college biologists had discarded twenty to twenty-five years before. This was not thought adequate.

Schools have even been seen as related to the economic national product. It seems that if there is going to be a higher gross national product and a higher rate of economic growth, more people have to be employable and have to become consumers of goods, and schools—so the reasoning goes—might have something to do with job fitness. Schools have even been thought to have something to do with correcting all of our social ills whether they be crime, delinquency, inadequate citizenship, or whatever other human shortcomings block the betterment of society.

My point is that we are living in a time when expectations for schools are greater than ever before, and these expectations are held by a great proportion of our population. They are held by many congressmen, and the Congress seems to reflect the educational expectations held by the public.

In the last decade people of many professions and walks of life have been turning to the educational problem. Mr. Conant has become interested in these matters and has written extensively. One of his books deals with the *American High School*, another with *Slums and Suburbs*. He also completed a study of the junior high school. He even became involved in the creation of the Education Commission of the States. Mr. Conant tends to take a rather conservative position. You remember his solution to the American high school problem: essentially, his position is that if we just had *more* high schools like the *better* high schools, we would be better off. That is a rather conservative position, since even the best high schools might not be quite like we would like them to be.

Many other people have been questioning the quality of American public school education. The foundations have questioned it: the Carnegie Foundation has become involved, the Ford Foundation is involved, the Kellogg people are involved, the Danforth people are involved, and even our Presidents have become involved.

Presdent Kennedy became much interested in education, and President Johnson has apparently made it a cornerstone of his administration. It was he who appointed a task force in education some three to four years ago, and out of that task force grew such legislation as the Elementary-Secondary Education Act and the Higher Education Act.

In all this examination by individuals, by governments, and by foundations, there have been some neglected areas uncovered. The big city is an example. Not enough is being done about education in the big cities, and there are a host of problems not being attacked. There are children coming to school who are not prepared to learn. Although these problems are not entirely the fault of the school, they evidently have pointed toward some new issues.

How do we get people prepared to learn when they come from homes which have no books, do no reading, tell no stories, homes that do not even have ordinary conversation, homes that do not have parents who take children out to see things and talk about them? These conditions have led to pre-school programs such as Head Start and other approaches.

Another of these problems is the question of integration. How do we integrate the minority groups? Are we going to continue with our ghettos and *de facto* segregation as well as *de jure* segregation?

These are some of the problems, the neglected areas, which cities have not dealt with adequately and which states have not attacked. In fact, the states have been even more reluctant to deal with these problems than have the cities. Our state legislatures have tended essentially to be composed of people who come from rural areas (weighted disproportionately toward the rural areas until recently, at least). Springfield, the state capitol of Illinois, is never anxious to do anything for Chicago! In fact, Springfield is quite willing to say, "Well, now Chicago is a big, sinful place, and they ought to take care of themselves. We are not going to do a thing for them. If we do anything for Chicago, we will do the same for everybody else—nothing more." This has been the attitude of most of our state legislatures, in spite of the fact that migration of people into the cities is not a local problem, not even a state problem. It is obviously a national problem.

There has also been a lack of coordination. The people in housing, welfare, and zoning have each run off in different directions, and the school people in still a separate direction. There is little communication among them. We have had very little relationship between school systems and museums, art institutes, symphony orchestras, and universities. Obviously, public schools are trying to have some relationships with the universities, and certainly there has been some of this, but relatively little coordination has occurred.

We have had almost no relationship between the public and the non-public schools. When I grew up in Idaho, I hardly knew what a non-public school was and had to come to the Midwest to find out. When we realize that one-third of the children in Chicago presently attend non-public schools, (and I suspect it is not very different in Milwaukee) we should begin paying some attention to such institutions.

All of these problems came under scrutiny in the White House Conference on Education in the summer of 1965 with about 800 to 1000 people in attendance. There were not many school board members, superintendents, or professors of education there. The board members, the superintendents, and the professors of education were "the old establishment" and hence were not over-represented.

There were a number of mayors, governors, and state legislators in attendance. Some of them had never before been to an educational conference. Four members of the President's Cabinet were there—not just the Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, but three others as well. The Vice-President was there. All kinds of people from foundations attended as did a great many people from the mass-media: radio, television, and the newspapers. This was a different kind of conference, and it dealt with different kinds of problems. If you wish to document this, read the reports on that conference, then read the reports of the conference in 1955, and contrast the clientele and the reports. The contrast illustrates what has happened (or at least what people are talking about) in American education. All of this has lead to a new partnership—a new balance—which we are now encountering in education.

A PICTURE OF RELATIONSHIPS

If we were to draw a chart of the present governance of the public school, we would place the school board and the school superintendent in the same box at the top of the organization chart. I would put a dotted line between them, because I do not believe that there is any neat division between policy and administration. There is some usefulness in talking about the differences between policy and administration, but perhaps we have overdone this distinction.

Also belonging on this chart are all of the forces that impinge upon the school program: such as the teachers, non-teaching employees, universities, the testing and curriculum movements, the special interest groups in every community, the business firms, the government, and the clients (the parents and the children). These forces operate at three levels: local, state, and national. The word "national" is used deliberately, because the influences upon public school education are not all governmental. Testing and curriculum movements, colleges, and business firms are not necessarily governmental. Each level is a mixture of governmental and non-governmental influences, and there is a great interplay among these forces.

A few years ago a school board in Illinois was being attacked by the American Legion. Certain books being used in social studies were being contested. In dealing with this problem, the school board had letters from American Legion Posts all over this country. This is an illustration of how these local and national forces get interwoven. This is the context within which this new government of education is coming into being.

EVOLUTIONARY PARTNERSHIPS IN SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

We are now re-thinking the purposes and the governance of education. In this re-thinking, public school education has a lot of new partners looking over its shoulders. If these partners are not new, at least, they are more insistent.

There is also an increased interest in education within government. The United States Office of Education has taken on a new role. Its budget has increased many fold in a few years. Nearly all of this increase has been for categorical aids of one kind or another.

There is also the Office of Economic Opportunity which is staggering a bit, but at least it is a new force in most communities. State departments of education have become stronger. The federal government, in fact, is now giving money to state departments of education so that they can strengthen themselves.

There are a number of state agencies, such as the Wisconsin Employment Relations Board, which are becoming more involved in public school matters. Perhaps Wisconsin is somewhat unique in this respect, since it is one of the first states to get a body of law on teacher negotiations. It is significant that affiliates of the Wisconsin Education Association have had to declare themselves labor organizations in order to make use of the law governing negotiations with teachers.

There are agencies such as the Cooperative Educational Service Agency which is Wisconsin's intermediate unit between the local school board and the State Department of Education. Here again, Wisconsin is one of the states which has led the nation, and local school boards in Wisconsin are still trying to digest that legislation. Like most legislation, it does not get digested overnight.

There are a number of other state agencies. Mr. Holthusen has mentioned several, and I shall not repeat them except to note that in Wisconsin vocational education is separately administered. This problem may be unique since there is no other state operating its vocational education as separately as does Wisconsin.

Another partner for schoolmen is the university scholar (not just the professors of education). Any university scholar who chooses now tells schools what they are doing about mathematics, history, and biology, or what they are not doing. There is now a great deal more interest on the part of the university scholars in public school programs than ever in the past.

There are, of course, civil rights leaders, and civil rights groups which did not previously exist. While there is no unanimity among these groups, there are certainly voices which demand attention. Teachers are more militant than ever before. Mr. Buchmiller's figures on what has been happening to salaries, and increased educational costs reflect teacher militancy in some sense. There are many more aroused parents than ever before. There are business entrepenuers insisting that the school has been slow to pick up the new technology. These people are asking hard questions.

These are some of the new partners that are looking over schoolmen's shoulders as they attempt to restructure the purpose, the programs, and even the governmental structure for education. As we attempt this restructuring, let us examine a few things that seem to be relevant.

RESTRUCTURING THE GOALS AND PRACTICES OF PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION

In the first place, there should be a differentiation made between education and schooling. We sometimes think of those terms as synonymous, but there are people with relatively little schooling who are well educated, and there are abviously some people with a great deal of schooling who are not well educated. Education and schooling should not be considered synonymous terms.

Other influences and institutions which contribute to education should be recognized. The home, after all, is the most important single influence, significantly more important for most people than the school. The home and the neighborhood are great educative forces as are the church and such agencies as Boy Scouts. There are many other kinds of educative forces, and it is well to keep them in mind as schoolmen think about educational programs.

It appears that schoolmen will have to make more collaborative efforts, difficult as collaborative efforts with other governmental agencies and nongovernmental agencies are. There should be collaborative efforts both vertically and horizontally. It is beyond comprehension how local school districts can operate in the future without collaborating at the state level and at the federal level or even at the Cooperative Educational Services agency level. In addition to the vertical level, it appears that there is a great deal of collaboration needed, particularly in our cities, with other local agencies such as those in housing, zoning, and welfare.

We schoolmen sat in Chicago some years ago and let the city and federal housing redevelopment authorities go down Main Street (four miles of Main Street) and build twenty-eight monstrous public housing apartment buildings. That redevelopment did more to create a ghetto and segregate schools for the next fifty years than any decision which the local board of education ever made. Why did a board of education let that happen and do nothing about it—not lift its voice? Why should a superintendent, a college professor, or anyone who is interested in the well-being of our country sit by silently?

A system of intergovernmental relationships somehow has to be built (either officially or unofficially) so that education gets related to the other agencies which are affecting the lives of people. The school is a part of a larger social system, a larger society, and that larger society continually plays upon the school. Hopefully, the school can also play back upon the society. Schoolmen need to be more sensitive to these horizontal arrangements.

In doing all this, we ought to do what we can to help the federal government regularize its operations. Mr. Holthusen has mentioned that Title I money arrives after the start of school programs. This is obviously a bad practice. The fiscal year 1967 begins for the federal government on July 1, 1966, and that is when schools are supposed to begin their fiscal 1967 program. Congress seldom appropriates the money until December, but schools are supposed to have started in July. That creates problems, and we need to find better ways of regularizing, integrating, and articulating these fiscal matters. Schoolmen are going to have to work on this federal funding, and it will not get regularized until local school districts and the state departments of education speak with a strong voice.

Throughout our consideration of all of these matters runs the concept of local autonomy. The surest way to kill local control of education is to keep weak school districts. If local school boards are going to have control of education, school boards and administrators have to maintain strong school districts. It is only when *strong* school districts speak to the federal government or speak to the state governments that there is real dialogue. If the local voices are weak, there is only domination.

If schoolmen do not like a decision, it is hoped that they can talk back. This talking back will have force only if the districts and the political subunits are strong. If necessary, schoolmen can use political processes for this purpose. Even though I cannot always agree with Mr. Willis, the Chicago Superintendent of Schools, in his quarrel with the United States Office of Education on federal funds, he highlighted the possibilities in the political process. Mayor Daley picked up the issue, it went to the President, and the decision got changed. The decision did not get changed just because of Mr. Willis, but it was changed because it seemed important enough to the Mayor of Chicago and to the President that the decision could not stand. Perhaps, that is an example of the schoolman's use of the political process. I am not suggesting that every decision ought to get into the politics, although we can not keep the *major* policies for education out of the political arena.

It is to be hoped that schoolmen can work out productive relationships with the federal government. In fact, there is no way to keep the federal government out of public school education. Ever since our federal system was established in 1787, with the General Welfare clause placed in the Constitution, Congress has taken action whenever a problem of national concern is identified whether it be in education, mass transportation, welfare, or other matters concerning the country's general welfare. The courts, time and time again, have upheld this kind of action, and this is likely what our kind of Federalism will continue to mean. When this Congress, the 89th Congress, became convinced that cultural deprivation was a problem of national scope about which cities and states could not do much, they decided to intervene.

We could debate the merits of the actions of the Congress and the kinds of programs which resulted. I am not very pleased with some of the programs under Title I. In Chicago, for instance, most of these programs take the form of remedial reading (after school) for those who have already failed in reading and are being taught by teachers who failed them. Furthermore, these are teachers who have already put in their day and are being paid extra to stay and teach a little more. One cannot get very enthusiastic about that kind of a program. It may be that before we are through the nation will have to recognize that cultural deprivation is more than an educational problem and will take more than educational measures to cope with it.

At present, school boards are being restricted somewhat in their activities (or at least are having to respond to more forces and influences than in the past) and seem to have less autonomy than they thought they once had. Nonetheless, this is also a time of *greater opportunity* when school boards need greater leadership than ever before. Thus, dialogue among these forces and agencies should not be stopped. If this dialogue intensifies, it may produce more constructive approaches and more effective solutions to these problems.

INPUTS AND OUTPUTS IN EDUCATION

With the entrance of the federal government into education, more money is going to be available. These funds are certainly needed if the public schools are going to meet the many expectations held for them.

The wise utilization of these funds will require a bit more rational decision-making than has been employed heretofore. What is meant by that? Perhaps schoolmen must ask themselves how they would spend an additional one hundred dollars per child per year. What would they do with it? One answer could be, "We'll give a little more to everything we are now doing." This answer will not likely bring the result we want. Increasing teachers' salaries ten percent and keeping the same teachers and the same program will not necessarily make much difference in the outcome. Perhaps there are alternative ways of spending that one hundred dollars. School boards ought to be willing to set up some priorities and are in all probability going to be expected to do more priority setting in the future.

Recently, I have been spending time with the Committee on Economic Development. This is a group of businessmen (who let a few academics in around the outskirts) who are concerned with this whole question of input and output in education. One of my jobs is to help these businessmen see that educational inputs and outputs are not easily described.

It reminds me of the time I spoke to a school board a few years ago. They had a new school board member, a sales manager, who wanted to set up criteria to judge the services of the superintendent. He said, "I have criteria for my salesmen, and when they do not meet those criteria, I fire them." I replied, "You have a rather precise measure, don't you—their sales records. Now you tell me what measure there is for the school superintendent. If you can work one out that is precise, and if the superintendent does not live up to it, you should fire him. First, we should talk about the criteria. How are you going to measure his performance?" Our discussion soon made it apparent that it is much more difficult to measure the performance of a superintendent than the performance of a salesman.

It is likewise very difficult to measure input in education. We can talk about money which is an obvious input, but, perhaps, the quality of the child who comes to school can also be considered input. Most educational studies say social-economic class is the greatest determiner of achievement. In fact, it is such a powerful variable that all the other variables almost disappear in the face of social class. Middle class people are interested in schooling, encourage their youngsters, and help them set educational goals. People in the lower class do not do this. This difference becomes a very powerful variable. Perhaps even the quality of the parent is an input. What is meant by educational input is rather obscure when we begin defining terms.

Output is even more difficult to define. Achievement can be fairly well measured in subjects such as arithmetic and English, but try measuring achievement in honesty. Here the job becomes more difficult. But with all these difficulties, we now have the opportunity, the urge, the motivation, and the demand that public schools do more in terms of relating input and output, and that a beginning be made.

More is also going to be demanded of state departments of education and of universities. The interrelationships among public schools, state departments of education, and the universities must be made more useful. University people obviously should be doing what they do best and not what public school people do best. State departments ought to be augmenting the public school function and the university function. We should seek complementary performances. There are signs of a movement in this direction across the country.

A number of new institutions have also come into being. Somehow schoolmen must learn what these institutions are for and how to use them. There are now several research development centers. There is one at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, and if it really is a research and development center, schoolmen ought to begin to ask what is being researched and developed. When do the schools get some of those "goodies"? It is time to begin to ask. There are also some regional laboratories. Here Wisconsin, joining with three other states, has access to the regional laboratory in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Schoolmen ought to begin finding out about the purpose of these laboratories. There is also the Educational Commission of the States. This is interesting in that another national organization has come into being to combat federal intervention in education. Thirty-eight states belong to this Commission presently.

These are new institutions, and they offer the public schools an opportunity. It is not certain as yet how much these new institutions are going to accomplish, since they have not had time to demonstrate their potential.

THE ROAD AHEAD

In summary, it is suggested that much of what was thought to have existed in the past was colored a bit by our folklore. The past of public school education was never as simple as generally thought to be.

A new equilibrium has developed including a broader decision-making base in education which involves the states and the federal government. Certainly the public schools are also being influenced by many informal forces including business firms, foundations, and new institutions. This, too, is an enlarged opportunity for the public schools.

The public school is definitely in a period of rising expectations. It is frightening how much is being expected of the school, and perhaps we cannot possibly deliver everything that is being expected, but if schoolmen and the public schools can capture this rising expectation, the schools may begin to affect people, and schools might make a difference. I am not sure that schools always have made a difference, but they might in the future. It would be a marvelous thing if schools could help people be more knowledgeable, more tolerant, more sensitive, more appreciative, and more analytical.

If this were the case, we might find that the schools could influence the total culture. It is really my hope that we can move in that direction, and that the public school will become even more relevant to our total life, our total well-being, and our total society.

QUESTIONS FROM THE FLOOR

Q. Several points in your remarks refer to strengthening local school districts. On the other hand, we have heard about the many opposite forces at work. Do you have any suggestions or thoughts as to just how we may go about strengthening these districts?

MR. CAMPBELL. I think it will be very difficult for local school districts to be strong as long as there are 25,000 of them in the United States. It seems to me that about 20,000 of that number are going to be fairly weak. I would assume that there will be some district reorganization and the recognition that we do not live in little hamlets anymore.

Another way of strengthening the local district is to increase its financial strength. We can do away with some of the great discrepancies among very small districts. Obviously, we are also going to need more state assistance than we now have, so that the district will have greater financial resources.

Also, by increasing the size of districts we may get better school board members than we now get in some places. I have known of a few districts which were dominated by one man. There ought to be some diversity of population represented in school districts. I would suspect that the small rural hamlet and the very small upper-middle class, suburban enclaves are at an end as we think of strengthening school districts. They are going to have to be more diverse.

CLINIC IV

SOCIAL CHANGES AND THE SCHOOL'S RESPONSE

The Public Schools in the Hurricanes of Social Change

GEORGE EARL WATSON

George Earl Watson, recently retired, has an extensive career in public school governance having occupied positions as teacher, principal, district superintendent of schools, and the Wisconsin State Superintendent of Public Instruction. He also was Professor of Education and Assistant to the Provost, The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee. This rich and variegated background lends authority to his comments regarding the current social forces impinging upon the governance of the public schools.

DURING these last few years I have an increasing reluctance to get close to educational considerations. As some of you know who have gone to meetings of school board associations or administrators' associations, I have been gullible enough to take a position on slightly controversial matters. Then I am told that I really do not understand what is going on: that things have changed materially since I was a part of the public school system. Consequently, I have a reluctance to try to project myself into a discussion which has educational impact.

If I were to have an urge to speak, it would not be on the present topic. I am not at all sure that I am skilled enough to detect social changes. I can get into trouble enough talking about the schools' responses, but when I go back into the other category and talk about the social changes which are in existence, I am really wandering in foreign territory.

THE CONCEPT OF CHANGE AS A SOCIAL ISSUE

The first social change that I think I see is a tremendous change in the status of the school: a change in our attitude toward the school and toward education. During the last calendar year 95 percent of the high school age group was in high school. High school diplomas are now an absolute necessity. Two things that appear in almost every want-ad in our papers are "Equal Opportunity" and "a high school diploma or its equivalent are required."

We are now talking about a universal program of education through the junior college years. I am not concerned about the fact that more youngsters are going to college as that is not the social change which bothers me. The change about which I am concerned is the change which comes from the former concept that education was desirable to the present idea that education of a formal nature is a necessity.

CHANGING FUNCTIONS OF THE PUBLIC SCHOOL

Here is the gamut, from the former idea that education be made available only to a selected few to the requirement that we must now have education for all. We have abandoned the former concept of regarding education as one of the *many* tools and have reached the almost universal belief that education is *the* basic solution to most of our ills. Everything in our larger communities, everything in our middle-sized communities, and everything in our smaller communities revolves about the efficacy of the educational institution.

Where is the place to cure malnutrition? It is in schools according to many. Where is the place to solve the civil rights impasse? It is in the schools. Do you want to jump to trade training or do you want to jump to sex educations? I am not saying whether or not these things are desirable but refer to the current concepts that the problems of the world can best be met within our institutions of elementary and secondary education. Those institutions, rather than providing an opportunity and a method of growth for a selected few, must now take care of all. How have they changed to do it?

One, if not the most respected, authority in the field of elementary and secondary education today is a gentleman by the name of Conant. It is intriguing that Dr. Conant appears to measure good education in terms of rather traditional offerings. He is still measuring effectiveness of our educational program by, "Do we or do we not have calculus? Do we or do we not have educational television? Do we or do we not have this kind of a faculty? Do we or do we not have this kind of an organization?" The issue, then, seems to go to the final question which must be answered: Can the school—required to serve the entire group in a different fashion and because of the changed status of that educational institution—be a mere refinement of the school traditionally required to serve only a few?

CAN TRADITIONAL SCHOOLS MEET MODERN DEMANDS ON EDUCATION?

What is the school's apparent response to this question? I am now speaking of public high schools. The response they make is not just because they are public, but because they are under rules, regulations, and laws, because of the insistence of traditionally educated citizens, and because of the requirements of higher education.

The principal of an up-state Wisconsin high school could incorporate excellent and innovative ideas in his curriculum, and they would be good ideas until the graduates tried to get admitted to the University at Milwaukee. Then the admissions officer would say, "No, unless you can give me so many units described in a certain fashion, evaluated in a certain way, you go back home."

Schools, because of the insistence of traditionally minded, traditionally educated citizens, because of the requirements of higher education, because of statutory regulation which most earnestly demand conformity, and because of teachers who are subject-matter oriented have changed very little in their approach or in their organization. Teachers, in general, have been able to change very little when we look at the dimensions of the new task. The job which we are asking—demanding of the school—is a tremendously different job. Up to this point the schools have been able to make very little adjustment to this new and different task.

THE CHANGING POLITICAL BOUNDARIES OF THE SCHOOLS

The second apparent social change is the disappearance, or at least the erosion, of the dividing lines within society and within our school communities.

You may smile a bit smugly and say there are virtues in living in the suburbs and in the outlying cities. Let me whisper to you that the virtues are fading fast. One could speculate momentaritly about different aspects of this erosion. Some of the evidences of this erosion of the suburban sanctuaries are becoming apparent within the political field.

Certainly the lines dividing Democrats and Republicans are fuzzy. It is intriguing to consider Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts, a Republican in a Democratic state, a Negro in a white state, and a Protestant in a Catholic state. Brooke is a rather unique individual.

When recalling the label "WASP," which broken down means White Anglo-Saxon Protestants, it is intriguing to think of John Lindsay, Mayor of New York, who is white, Anglo-Saxon, and Protestant. Certainly his community would not be labeled that way, and the political strengths of New York City have not been of the "WASP" kind.

Across Lake Michigan one could observe George Romney, a Mormon, who is apparently a front-runner for the Republican party nomination. Take George Murphy, the tap dancer, who is the senator from Canifornia. If you do not like him, take Ronald Reagen, the "acting" Governor. What has been implied by this recital of personalities is that there has been a teriffic erosion of traditional political lines, and that the rules for political leadership and political success are changing. Sectional political differences are becoming less evident.

CHANGING ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DIVIDING LINES

In addition, there are some economic and social lines which appear to be eroding. There is a great drive towards the Great Society. In effect this tends toward the elimination of poverty by virture of the re-distribution of wealth. It can be explained with much more finesse, but this is one aspect. In process today is the tremendously changed status of the blue-collar class, the shorter work week, and the drive for greater leisure for all.

Another concern is the shift of employment from agriculture to industry. If looked at from a different angle, the Great Society is concerned with the racial problem, with the Negro problem, with the minority, with the efforts to erase many of the dividing lines in education, housing, and employment. There appears to be a tremendous drive to develop an ideal economic situation. Then, by procedural political manipulation and adjustment, everybody is brought as close as possible to the desired economic status.

The issue for the schools? I do not have to tell you what the issue is. You are living it! It is a double-barreled one. Board members and superintendents, as chosen leaders, should do a lot of thinking about the extent to which these dividing lines *should be erased.*

While sitting recently in the very delightful suburban home of an old friend, we inevitably got to talking about the efforts of the present state superintendent of schools to do away with the union high schools in the north shore area of Milwaukee. Having known this gentleman for many years, I felt I could discuss the issue with him. I pushed him just a bit. Finally he came out with the reason that they live in a suburb where the kids are different than they are in this other place. I said to him, "Fine, I am willing to accept that for the purpose of discussion, but for anyone such as you and me who lived across the tracks when we were kids, it is a very interesting philosophy to hear."

Assuming there is a difference, should not part of that educational process be to eliminate those differences: to make the X group acquainted with the Y group and to make the Y group acquainted with the X group so that each can find out that the other are pretty good people? The issue is whether or not these dividing lines should be eroded. There could be a very heated discussion on that. It is worse than getting into the Norwegian versus the Swede discussion, and it is much more precarious.

In this process of either holding the lines or of eroding the lines, what is the task of the schools? Is the task of the school that of leadership in this erosion? Is the task of the school that of leadership in the maintenance of the status quo? This is not chatter about the central city alone. This also concerns the school districts surrounding the central city.

What is the role of the school? Should the school sit in docile fashion and accept as its task, the responsibility for carrying out the community's decisions? This issue is rather pertinent.

WINDS OF POLITICAL CHANGE AND THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The response of the schools to these political and social forces generally is to insist on local autonomy. No flag runs up the flagpole faster or better than that of local autonomy. We often say, "You, in the state capitol (or you in Washington) send us the money, but we will run the institution here!" We do not want to be told! We do not want to be manipulated!

With more and more people insisting upon local autonomy, many more people also appear to be talking about the continuation and the sacredness of the neighborhood school than were even familiar with that term a decade ago. My friend, quoted a few minutes ago, talked very glibly about the neighborhood school. It should be emphasized again that this problem is not restricted to school districts with different racial groups.

In a broader sense, the question of various kinds of separation can be raised. We are not only separated racially. There are various other kinds of separation (such as rural, urban, and suburban) different kinds of neighborhoods within the larger districts (even without the racial differences), and we could even include the separateness of the public and the non-public schools. At the present time it appears that this separation of the non-public and the public school can be considered a form of segregation.

Should urban children be transported to the rural area, and vice versa? If public schools and non-public schools are to be a part of the same operating mechanism (both getting money through the same sources), should there be interchanged and unified direction of public and non-public schools?

The passage in Wisconsin of the referendum to transport parochial school children at public expense opened a door which is a very interesting door.

What is the Wisconsin legislature going to say about transporting children across town? Will we have the general public assume the full cost of this private school bussing? There are going to be some very interesting questions.

Concerning the question of erosion of dividing lines, those of us active in education should be giving much soul-searching thought to "Should these dividing lines be eroded? Should they be maintained? What is the place of the school? What is the leadership role of the administrator? How do we accomplish what we want to accomplish?"

YOUTHS' RESPONSE TO SOCIAL CHANGE— IMPACT ON THE SCHOOLS

Another social change is the change from a more subserviant younger generation in an adult-controlled era to a generation of protestors; a group known as the new kind of generation or the "now" generation. In the literature of the social sciences it appears that every generation of youth has been a generation in rebellion.

There were one or two rebellions in which I, as a youth, participated. They were put down rather rapidly. We, the protestors, were not appointed to any committees to discuss what *we* should do with *us*. This seemed to be the beginning of the word "unilateral."

This "now" generation is most frequently publicized at the college-university level. Quite possibly they reflect some attitudes acquired in pre-college days. These attitudes might have a beginning before their arrival at the college campus. While these evidences are quite limited on the high school level, there are indications that these evidences might increase.

Boiling it down, what is the issue? Does pre-college education have a clear and precisely defined role in clarification of the relationships between generations? An interesting article appeared in a recent issue of *Time* Magazine about a high school principal in Albany, New York who does the kind of thing that some schoolmen did fifty years ago. He has a very precise concept of relationships, of respect, and of work. These concepts and their interrelationships seem, in a major way, to have softened.

School authorities are relinquishing some of their authority and control, but they are doing it grudgingly. Schools, administrators, and teachers find it an increasingly difficult task to serve youths who do not want to be in schools; youths who, in this modern atmosphere, can openly resent and resist their required attendance. This resentment and resistance appears much more difficult to handle than it would have been a generation ago.

It is difficult to visualize a situation where someone other than the teacher is in charge of discipline. It is difficult to recognize the propriety of a situation where the relationships between pedagogue and student are such that we have to call in the arm of the law to discipline students. It appears that one of the more difficult problems confronting the school board, the school administrator, and the faculty is the question of the proper relationship of the faculty and the administrator to the student body.

My present, major concern is not with the long hair, tight pants, or mini-skirt, distracting as those problems may be. My concern is rather with conformity: can we demand it? Should we demand it? My concern is with acquiesence to rule and regulation. Can we get it? My concern is with the acceptance of adult standards. Can we secure that acceptance?

After we answer all those "can we" questions, there comes a more important issue: should we? Right at that point we have a very real educational problem.

CHANGE—THE PARAMOUNT SOCIAL ISSUE OF OUR TIMES

The final and most encompassing social issue is *change,* for it includes facets of nearly everything that has been said up to this point. This phenomenon is so accentuated in our times, that nothing stays put. *The unchanging fact of today is change itself.*

Perhaps you have seen a little booklet by Peter G. Peterson, President of Bell and Howell Corporation. It reports a speech which was made before the Committee for the Support of Public Schools. As a business leader, Mr. Peterson described the kind of person needed a generation hence. In describing this person, he was of course describing or indicating the kind of education needed now to help that person be that kind of person. He gave as his first requisite, the kind of person who has an *appetite* for change.

Now what is the issue? While education has always had the task of preparing students for an unknown future, the issue now is that the task is much more aggravated with change as rapid as it is today. The issue is what kind of teachers, what kind of school organization, what kind of methods, what kind of atmosphere, what kind of attitude will best enable our youth to take maximum advantage of the rapid changes throughout our society.

Mr. Peterson states it this way, "Can education help give our new generation genuine self-confidence, genuine courage, and at the same time teach them that they themselves must discover the truths?" He goes on to say that, "The future will call for such traits as originality, boldness, and flexibility, whereas I wonder if many of our schools don't unconsciously encourage conformity, timidity, and rigidity."

The ultimate issue is: *How Do We Prepare Youngsters for This Rapidly Changing Situation?*

What has been the response of the schools up to this point? It appears that education, not entirely through the fault of the "educational establishment", is usually measured in terms of hours, weeks, and units of subject matter. It would be difficult to place on present school records the attributes of student Joe Smith in terms of the challenge laid down by Mr. Peterson. Joe Smith's record must be put down in units, grades, hours, and time. Not that this type of recording of achievement is preferable, but it is still done in terms of hours, weeks, units of subject. It is done in terms of diplomas or degrees in a quantitive measurement. While an attempt is made to weave some qualities into a quantitative measure of traditional goals, any administrator, faculty, or school board who would like to get off the beaten track is waved back by the universities. They are waved back by the accrediting associations, and they are even waved back by the state statutes.

Even more repressive than the universities, the accrediting associations, or the state statutes might be the opposition of traditional parents. These parents seem to use the measuring stick that anything done in a way unfamiliar to them is questionable. In opposition are parents, scheduling procedures (or the necessity for large classes), and even the demand of the students themselves for measurable goals. These social forces are always in contest with the tremendous change which we all know is coming. There is no argument about it at all.

In a meeting in Washington three weeks ago when a question was asked of me, I said, "I'll have to confess I don't have the slightest idea of what you are talking about." The chairman of the meeting, a very fine southern university president, said, "Why, Mr. Watson, what were you thinking about?" I replied that I was thinking about this, "Here we are on the tenth floor of the Veterans Administration building sitting and cogitating about the education and rehabilitation of the discharged GI's of these recent wars. I was trying to remember how I got to Washington."

"When I first started coming back here in 1952, I used to leave Madison, Wisconsin, at noon, take a train to Chicago, and if lucky, get on the Baltimore and Ohio Capital Limited at 4:15 p.m. It went rackety-rack all night up and down the valleys and along the rivers. If I slept at all, I awoke at Harper's Ferry, West Virginia, and we were lucky to get into Washington at nine o'clock in the morning."

The chairman of the meeting said, "I can appreciate that kind of traveling, but what is bothering you?" I said, "The thing that is bothering me is that after driving out to Billy Mitchell Field in Milwaukee, in about one-half hour and getting on an airplane, it took only an additional hour and fifty-five minutes to get to Washington, D. C. But, I still fear that I am talking about the same sort of educational concepts that I was talking about when I traveled here on the Capital Limited."

QUO VADIS?

There is the problem for us. If public school administrators are going to do the kind of education job we all desire for our children, we have to not only recognize the rapidity of change, but we administrators have to ask ourselves what can we do in terms of educational offerings to make youngsters *agreeable* to change, *capable* of taking change, and *eager* to take change.

With the world in ferment, with the tremendous changes in the world, in our nation, and in our communities, the question is *What Is the Role of the School?* Can our traditional schools accomplish the task that is rightly theirs? The response of the schools should be much more than the acceptance of the role assigned them. That response should represent the thinking of the leaders of the *Education Establishment*, both lay and professional, as to the direction which we should be taking, the organization we should have, and the personnel and resources we need.

Relations Between the School and Society

EARL JOHNSON

Dr. Earl Johnson, emeritus Professor of Social Sciences, University of Chicago and lately of the School of Education, The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee, is a widely recognized teacher and writer in the social sciences and the social and philosophical foundations of education. His wide knowledge of these fields makes his observations concerning schools and society particularily pertinent.

THE INTERRELATIONS between school and society about which my distinguished colleague, George Watson, has spoken was the occasion for Mr. Hennessey's question and Mr. Dooley's reply. Mr. Hennessey asked, "Does the school influence society more than the society influences the school?" Mr. Dooley, in the most approved Socratic style, replied with the question, "Did ye ever hear of the mill-wheel runnin' the mill-race?" Mr. Hennessey hadn't and said so.

The issue which Mr. Hennessey raised was thus resolved by an analogy which had the fault of most analogies: It didn't fit the realities. The facts are that the one-way relation between mill-wheel and mill-race doesn't hold in the relations of school and society. George Watson has made this abundantly clear and it will be my responsibility to pursue the matter further at only three points.

EROSION OF SOCIAL STATUS-SYSTEMS

I begin with his second category, for it is basic to the general issue which we discuss. This phenomenon is what my colleague has called "the erosion of some of the dividing lines in our society." I beg leave to call it, "the erosion of a former status-system," for the dividing lines in every society tell us where the status boundaries are.

In the chicken yard the status systems are set by what is known as "the pecking order"—or the system of priorities by which the rooster and his favorite hens get first peckings. Thus, in the kingdom of chickens, the system of priorities is instinctive and fixed, for it is part of the genetic apparatus of this particular species of animal life. In the human community, however, the "pecking order" is a cultural thing which has become institutionalized but, nevertheless, still subject to change.

If the changes which have been brought to view by my colleague turn out to be truly significant, they represent changes in the human pecking order which may be translated into changes in the location of social power in our society. By social power I mean power to change inherited and heavily invested arrangements across the full spectrum of human affairs, for it is my understanding that social change is change in the relations which human beings bear to each other: political, economic, cultural, religious, and geographic.

But, as I have said, social arrangements are vested, that is, they are institutionalized and hence resistant to change. It follows then that substantial social changes come about not only by new or renewed *will,* but by changes in institutional arrangements and apparatus.

In this view, social changes are essentially political changes by which I mean changes in the results of the process of "who gets what, when, and how" concerning such values as esteem, dignity, consumer's goods, employment opportunity, but, perhaps most significant of all in a free society, the value of the right to protest the inequity of the distribution of such values as I have named.

Whether or not the changes, which my colleague and I identify, will be the kind which will bring about changes or have already brought about these changes in our social system may be tested by the degree to which all of our citizens are free to play their proper roles in social decision-making, i.e. the decisions about what is thought to be desirable in our society. In a *democrary,* "the people shall judge" or so John Locke, who was the father of our political philosophy, taught.

CURRENT FORCES FOR SOCIAL CHANGE

Let me make my point by reference to some forces that are now at play in our society. The ultimate test by which we ought to judge such activities as VISTA, the poverty program, Head Start, urban re-development, the civil rights movement, reform of the curriculum in our schools, and all the other well-intended activities which are now going on is this: will they result, in the long run, in greater participation and sharing by all classes and estates of our society in the decision-making process; in industry, in the school, in government; indeed, in all the institutional forms within which the decision-making process works. If this is not the long-run consequence of both our traditional and novel political activities, then the theme "government by consent of the governed" is only archaic, misleading, and dangerous rhetoric.

I derive from my colleague's remarks, a concern with liberty and equality as essential pre-conditions for our people in deciding what is desirable for the general welfare. The valence or balance between these two values has been the continuing and enduring political concern since the republic was founded.

Jefferson's emphasis in the Declaration of Independence was on liberty, as was also the emphasis of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay in the Federalist Papers. Such an emphasis was to be expected in a society in which disparities in wealth were not great and a continent, with all its resources, lay waiting for development. But, with the passing of Jefferson's ideal, if not also the fact, of a society of independent free-holders, the political pendulum began to swing somewhat more toward the pole of equality. Since then, the political history of our society can be written as the story of the changing emphasis and balance between these two great values, liberty and equality.

I call to mind the observation of the French social critic, Anatole France, that, "the Almighty, in His infinite compassion and wisdom, has given both the rich and poor the liberty of sleeping under bridges." But the rich do not need to sleep under bridges for they are "more equal" than the poor; hence such a liberty for them is quite meaningless. I have the feeling that Anatole France must have read Aristotle who wrote that "liberty is unattainable until the passion for equality has been established, for until this is done the state is in jeopardy because men are disputing about fundamentals." The division of labor and emphasis which all good men among us now seek is, I think, a basis in social and economic equality in order to enjoy the degree and kind of political liberty which we believe best.

If our emphasis respecting inequality is simply to *cure* it, rather than to *prevent* it, we shall be wasting our resources. But the cure of it seems to have a greater lure than prevention due, I suspect, to the mistaken notion that we can cure it without making any substantial changes in our social system.

This brings me to note again that Mr. Watson has spoken of the erosion of certain divisive factors in our society which appear to be making for greater equality. There are, I think, signs in this direction; there are also signs in the opposite direction.

A NEW STATUS—THE POVERTY CLASS

It is about one index of "the opposite direction" I should like to speak. This is the emergence of a new social class whose base, regretably, is race and poverty. It is completely new in our history. It has already manifested its militant, even belligerent, protest against basic inequities, but I think some of our citizens are more disposed to curse and exercise this protest than to understand it.

Due to whatever is involved in the changing course of our history, the older professional leadership in and of the Negro community has lost ground to a new and amateur leadership. Conspicuous within it are the Carmichaels, the Powells, and the McKissicks and somewhere on its margin, are the Martin Luther Kings. We now witness a new mass movement which will not easily be stayed from its militant and even ugly forms of protest. How long that stage will last there is no telling unless, despite its militancy, the major social decision-makers in our society change their views about it from condemnation to understanding, and initiate preventive changes in the opportunity structure of American culture.

SEGREGATION—A SOCIAL ISSUE FOR THE NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL

The chief issues on which the protest of the Negro community has long centered are housing, unemployment, and the school. Each involves the universal of segregation, and each involves the other. But as Gunnar Myrdal, the eminent Swedish economist, remarks in his classic work, *The American Dilemma* (which is chiefly the white man's dilemma about the Negro's dilemma) there is no *one* place to begin in order to change the general social status of the Negro. The Gordian knot is perhaps the fact of the Negro's segregation in housing which, though largely *de facto,* is so firmly *de facto* so as to have been almost *de jure*. Nevertheless, housing is one place to start, perhaps the place closest to the school in order to attack the issue of segregation. (Attitudes toward housing will receive attention in what I have to say about segregation in the school.)

The focus of my concern is now with what is called the neighborhood school whose territorial and population base is part and parcel of the housing pattern in urban communities. But proposals to do something about the neighborhood elementary school so as to reduce the racial segregation of their children is not something the Negro community is willing to postpone until the blockade in the pattern of residential segregation is broken.

I begin my consideration of the segregating effect of the neighborhood elementary school by reminding you again of the new social class which is emerging, based as it is on race and poverty. It is of course, a minority class. It is pitted against the powerful majority which is, however, perhaps less class-oriented and class-conscious than the Negro minority, particularly the Negroes in this new social class.

The terms minority and majority have unique relevance in light of the warning which Alexis de Tocqueville gave in his famous work *Democrary in America,* written more than one hundred thirty years ago. His warning was about the possible "tyranny of the majority." He saw it as well-nigh inevitable unless we developed a strong and operative tolerance toward minority groups and their rights.

His warning has now come home to roost. We see it in the resistance of the white majority to the reorganization of the neighborhood school which has now become one of the main bulwarks against the operation of the free market in housing. This means that what has been perhaps our most representative public and hence most democratic social institution, the school, is now being used for what is essentially a non-educational purpose. The whole matter would resolve itself by the passage of open occupancy laws at local, state, and federal levels.

This view defines the issue of the segregated neighborhood school in its basic terms, whether or not the American people—North and South, rural, urban, and suburban—are in favor of a free or a closed market in residential property. If that issue is resolved in terms of our traditional defense of the free market, the issue of the segregated elementary school will be resolved. If, then, a considerable number of the white majority choose to run away from the problem, as they have already done, they will discover in a relatively short time, if not right now, that the problem has pursued them. It is, in my judgment, a case of trying to runaway from our shadow.

The matter of open occupancy raises, of course, the issue of the absolute and inviolate right to do what one pleases with private property. We have long argued that those rights are based on the well-nigh sacred function of private property, especially in housing, as an indispensable means to the creation and preservation of stable family life. But when the choice of a free market in housing is denied the Negro minority, it is, by our own strongly defended logic, being deprived of its free choice of the same means—namely the means to a stable family life. We are thus caught in the backwash of our own logic.

Arguing against the government's playing a decisive role in the guarantee of a free market in housing to all potential bidders is arguing against a free market, not in the economic terms we normally use in its defense, but in terms of prejudice against a race of people.

The point I seek to make is simply this: do we or do we not believe in the exercise of liberty in a free market as it applies to free competition among all potential bidders in the housing market? If not, it might behoove us to examine our attitudes toward other aspects of monopoly or quasi-monopoly in what we nostalgically refer to as the free market.

TARGET FOR A MODERN AGE OF REFORMATION—THE NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOL

I wish now to speak directly to the issue of the reform of the neighborhood school in communities in which it is a means for perpetuating the segregation of elementary pupils on the grounds of their race.

To measure its social effect I call to mind Edmund Burke's image of the extent and the content of the community now called the neighborhood. It includes, he held, those now living, the dead, and those yet unborn. In the light of the imperatives of sharing and participation, as tenets of the democratic dogma as it applies to public institutions such as the elementary public school, the Negro minority's stake is in unsegregated education for its children is supported by *past* democratic tradition which relate, we may say, to the dead in Burke's definition.

It relates also to the right of the Negro children to share and participate *now* in the common culture of the school without exception based on race, and it relates to the dream that their children's children may enjoy that same right which is the *future* dimension of Burke's definition. The new class now says, through its leaders, "we'll be damned if we'll wait any longer." I report their protest but leave to another occasion an examination of the effectiveness of some of their forms of protest. My point is only that their cause is, in light of the democratic dogma, a just cause.

The segregation of students by the criterion of their race is, of course, based on extrinsic factors. By this I mean that race, *ipso facto,* takes no account of individual's talents and virtues. But worse, to segregate on such grounds, only insures that they will not be developed as they could be in the intellectual and social climate of an unsegregated school. In this observation I speak to a hope not merely to a theory. I report a *fact* which is supported by a mass of empirical evidence. (I invite you to read the so-called Coleman Report on the effects of segregation in the schools, especially at the elementary level. A condensed version of it can be purchased from the U.S. Government Printing Office.)

THE "OPEN SCHOOL" CONCEPT

So much, or so little, on the injustice of segregating elementary pupils on the grounds of race, which are extrinsic grounds. The case is quite different, if, within a school which is open to white and Negro children alike, they may be segregated *together* in the cause of giving them a better education. Thus segregation within what I would call an "open school" would be done on intrinsic grounds.

This brings me to some observations on the pedagogical problems associated with what I have called the "open school." These problems will appear in differences in rates of learning and readiness to be taught. In an open school, such differences might well be more pronounced in a neighborhood whose pupils are not of the same racial origin. This would be due to the generally better opportunity background of the children from the homes of the white majority, and contrary-wise, to the generally reduced opportunity background of the children from the homes of the Negro minority. There will, of course, be exceptions, but the normal expectancy would be as I have stated it.

In such an open or racially non-segregated school there would be need for special attention to specially advanced or retarded students. This would require segregation, not by race, but by the quality of pupils' talents and how advanced or retarded they were respecting the development of such talents. The cadres would be learning, not racial cadres.

In such an "open school" pupils, regardless of their racial identity, would be treated differently but on *intrinsic* grounds and thus with equity. Such an "open school" would become a truly neighborhood school as the terms "neighborhood" may be properly applied to describe a commonwealth of boys and girls, regardless of their race. The arts of the "new pedagogy" could handle the problems I have identified with no difficulty; in fact with ease and competence. In such a context the elementary school would become a true experience, or call it if you wish, a true *experiment* in democratic learning and living together. Each would enhance the other.

In this discussion I have made no mention of what is called "compensatory" education, because I believe it is a contradiction in terms. If it be, however well intended, a stop-gap, one must ask how long boys and girls can be compensated, if indeed they can be compensated at all for deprivation of the enjoyment of their birthright which is the fullest sharing and participation in the commonwealth of teachers and age-peers—human beings without the tag of race, religion, or nationality.

Nor have I made any mention of the problem of discipline because I think that most of it is due to two "teacher-factors": a lack of a sense of humor and the over-abundance of a disposition to moralize which is to try to *preach* goodness. There is another factor of which I shall speak later: this is the meaninglessness of a great part of student learning experiences in the school. But, due to the fact that educational reform in the public schools has come from the bottom up, this negative feature has been largely overcome in the early years of schooling, although it remains to plague students' lives in the high school.

THE "NOW" GENERATION

Turning to Mr. Watson's third major concern, "the new generation" which has lately been changed to "the now generation," I suppose, because of youth being so taken up with the present. Whether this is because of its promise or its problems, I don't know—perhaps it is both.

My remarks will be limited to that segment we know as high school teenagers. About them I am constrained to ask, "What is this new phenomenon?" much as Crevecouer, the late seventeenth century historian, phrased his concern about the American farmer, "Who is this new man?"

In his book, *The Adolescent Society,* James Coleman gives us considerable insight into the fact that this segment of our youth lives in three worlds. His inferences were drawn from the responses of a sample of 8,000 mid-west high school students to the following question: "Which would be the hardest for you to take—your parent's disapproval, your teachers' disapproval, or breaking with your friend?" [1]

The percentage distribution of responses average out as follows: 53.3, 3.1 and 43.1. This means that the largest percent showed greater loyalty to and dependence on their parents, the next largest (roughly ten percent fewer) to their age peers, and the fewest to their teachers. I suspect there was an element of a sense of guilt in their vote in favor of their parents for they had grown up in a moral climate which was strengthened by the commandment "Thou shalt honor thy father and thy mother," even when you don't obey them! Their peer orientations are high, only ten percent lower than toward their parents. I think this is explained by the fact that here is their private world, a place of escape and refuge from both parents and teachers.

This leaves their lowest preference, only three and one-tenth percent in favor of their teachers. I am convinced that this does not report that they hate teachers, but rather that they are almost neutral to teachers. They seem to see teachers as symbols of the curriculum which they neither like nor dislike. They are just neutral to them. This neutrality is due to the fact that it does not "speak to their condition," as the Quakers say. They find in it little explanation for or guidance concerning their self-identity. They live in an in-between land which is an enigma to them.

The experience in the curriculum, especially the one in liberal arts, sheds little light on that enigma. It is, by and large, a meaningless thing, and their teachers are, for the most part, symbols of that same meaningless thing. I have the suspicion that curricula in certain vocational fields are much less meaningless because of their quite specific focus; they promise to lead someplace. That there are exceptions to these attitudes goes without saying; we are dealing here with general tendencies.

But now we must ask what it is they are in-between. On the one side is a body of learning experiences which they find relatively meaningless and hence unrewarding. On the other hand is a social system which baffles not only them but their parents, and even their pastors if they have one, and if he is honest with himself and with them.

Respecting their and their parents' bewilderment about the society, I hazard these views. It presents both parents and teenagers with alternatives and decisions which they do not know how to resolve or knowing, somehow lack consensus and courage to go about the task. Both are quite unsure and uncertain although they continue to verbalize (I was about to say babble) the old certainties. What the young do not quite understand is reflected from their parent's not understanding it either, and when they look to them for guidance and counsel, they get little that satisfies. Not all parents and all youth, of course, but enough of each to permit the generalizations I am making.

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[1] James Samuel Coleman, *The Adolescent Society: The Social Life of the Teenager and Its Impact on Education* (New York: Free Press of Glencoe, 1961). p. 5.

While I should like to pursue this analysis further, I must turn to another aspect of the bewilderment; impatience and uncertainty of this *new-and-now* species, the high school teenager.

Between them and their parents, despite the better than fifty percent vote of confidence given them by their children, there is a gap. It has several names because it has several natures: the generation gap, the sensitivity gap, the credability gap, the relevance gap, the vision gap, and the communication gap. I must assume that each says something to you.

I think that the communication gap says the most. It is cause and effect of youth's alienation from its family as the center of its life. This is confirmed by every sober and knowledgable student of the problem of youth's alienation.

I devoutly wish that we could study the meaning of these gaps for the lives of high school students. They are all due to the effects of very rapid social change in the scale and complexity of life which has, in many instances, left parents far behind their children. Not a little of the cause of these gaps is explained by the fact that the education which many parents got when they were teenagers was far from adequate, even for those days, to say nothing of its greater inadequacy for understanding their children's worlds and the problems which beset them. Even five-year-olds have incorporated ideas into their thinking about such things as space, time, and power which their parents have not begun to assimilate. I think it is correct to say that many parents *un-understand,* rather than misunderstand their children's problems.

THE CURRICULUM LAG AND SOCIAL CHANGE

I have charged the high school curriculum with being rather meaningless and should like to adduce some evidence to support my views. For this I shall depend on the wisdom of a child, and the knowledge of a scholar.

The child is a cartoon character: Linus, who is Charlie Brown's pal, and philosopher beyond his years—but anything can happen in cartoons, especially animated ones. The one which I refer to advertises Mrs. Karl's bread. After going into ecstasy about its fine texture and pleasing taste, Linus tells us what he sees in his poetic mind's eye: fields of wheat weaving shadowy patterns under the Kansas summer sun. But his reverie is broken by his being brought back to earth by the only female actor of the drama. She counters Linus' glowing apostrophes about Mrs. Karl's bread and the wonders of nature, with her loud-mouthed remarks that "The baking of it is done mechanically, neatly, swiftly, and efficiently." Whereupon Linus remarks, after the school bus leaves without him (he is probably below kindergarten age), "That's the trouble with contemporary man, he makes high quality bread at the expense of romance."

In capsule form, Linus put his finger on why the high school curriculum is so meaningless to many of those who suffer to learn it. It has stressed the scientific and the rational at the expense of the humanistic and the non-rational. It has rent the unity of knowledge by taking it apart and forgetting to put it back together. It is idle to covet meaning and relatedness in education if it is wanting in knowledge. Learning is meant to live by, not to give back the husks of it to the teacher, come Friday.

A great social philosopher, Alfred North Whitehead, has told us that meaning can be had by the teacher's "creating the environment of a wider knowledge and a firmer purpose," to which I would add but only by a teacher who not only knows, but cares. All this is diametrically opposite to teaching by "that frost of fact which gives precisely stated death to all that lives."

I have quoted Linus, the make-believe child. I quote now a real man, my longtime friend and now colleague-sociologist, Professor Warner Bloomberg of the faculty of the Department for Urban Studies at The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee. He knows well the school and just as well, the factory. I give you some passages from his recent paper, "The School as Factory."[2] He is of course dealing with a type to which every school does not conform, but to which many do conform.

Professor Bloomberg's thesis is that the climate of the school has been so eroded by emphases on "mechanical, neat, swift, and efficient" as to give it the character of a factory, not a place where students may combine learning with living. Here are some vignettes from his paper:

> " . . . a learning factory is a contradiction in terms unless we drastically change what we have meant by the concept, education."
>
> " . . . We should be willing to cease to romanticize contemporary schools and to examine the work of our hands with that honesty, candor, and regard for facts we claim we try to cultivate among our pupils."
>
> "Worker-teachers and their foremen, the principals, re-act like all factory workers; they tend to do everything possible to shove pieces along the production line whether or not such pieces, each pupil, meets the specifications for quality officially claimed by the company, the school system."
>
> "Indeed every element of community is systematically obliterated in the factory-style school, except that underground community of resistance that develops among some of the pupils. . . . "
>
> "Teachers become increasingly like old-time factory foremen: more and more of their time and energy go into distributing and supervising production assignments, trying to maintain productivity standards, making payrolls, protecting company property, coping with worker resistance and subversion and trying to stay in good terms with supervisors and upper management in general."
>
> "In such a system individualized deviations from the production schedule are not to be tolerated, and challenges to the methods or conclusions of the textbook and teacher are not permitted."

I feel no obligation to point the moral of Professor Bloomberg's image of the school as a factory.

TEACHING FOR THE FUTURE

There remains my obligation to make some remarks on Mr. Watson's fourth and last theme: how do we teach for the future? I shall speak to this matter very briefly, although it is the toughest theme my colleague has proposed.

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2. Warner Bloomberg, Jr., "The School as Factory" (from a manuscript prepared by Dr. Bloomberg for use by the National Defense Education Act Institute, Racine, Wisconsin, 1966-67, sponsored by the School of Education, The University of Wisconsin—Milwaukee and by the Unified School District, Number 1 of Racine, Wisconsin).

We ought to teach for the future as we ought to live for the present *for the renewing of the spirit.* This will demand our mastry of facts, rather than the making of them, for they do not lie about ready-made. This will demand, also, the mastery of the rules of logic by which truth and the reliability of our facts may be tested. Finally, this will require great drafts on our imagination for it is the only means by which mankind has ever got beyond the bounds of his present facts.

These must then be put together in the form of inviting and challenging invitation to inquiry at every level of learning to the end that we may renew our spirit.